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Aspects of Tukano /Tucano/ Culture: Cosmogony

by Marcos Fulop

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/99/ Commissioned by the Dirección of the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología, we are initiating ethnographic studies among the natives of the Comisaría Especial del Vaupes. We have considered it convenient to begin the anthropological study of the cultures of this region with the Tukano /Tucano/ group.

114 [101] The material that is published below was gathered during our stay in the settlement of Guadalajara, on the Paca River, from June 13 to July 9, 1953. Our informant was Marcos Sierra, 124 and Manuel Sierra, the brother of the preceding, served as interpreter. 128 Owing to the short time of the investigation and to having consulted only one informant, we are not able to guarantee 772 the exactitude of the version of the Tukano cosmogony given by 772 769 Marcos Sierra. This cosmogony is repeated in the manner of a cult to the ancestors during the feasts of Dabukurí and Yuruparí.

105 [171] The Tukano culture is actually representative of the cultures of the tropical forests of South America. Their regimen of life is sedentary; they practice horticulture, and bitter yuca (1)

1. Manihot utilissima.

constitutes the basis of their alimentation, which is supplemented with products obtained by means of hunting and fishing; they are efficient in the construction and handling of river vessels; they use the hammock for a bed; they possess the art of ceramics and do not know metalurgy.

131 The Tukano Indians are found located on the lower Vaupés /Uaupés/ River, from the falls of Ipanoré to the outlet of the Vaupés into the Río Negro; on the Tiquié and Papurí /Papury/ rivers; and on small streams that empty into these three rivers.

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3. Ethnographic Information from the Eighteenth Century

128 In the three eighteenth-century sources known, and cited by us, we find very little ethnographic information about the tribes of the basin of the Uaupés that we have studied. Without much inconvenience, then, they can be copied, and we do it for the greater convenience of the readers of these studies.

103 a. In the "Roteiro" we read: -- No. 184. "The true name of the Uaupé River is Ucayari, which, in the idiom of the Manáos and Barez Indians, means -- River of white water; but, since the heathen who inhabits the main trunk of the Ucayari is of the Uaupé nation, the other Indians attributed to him the same name, which the Whites translate into Goaupé (it is the same one that Condamine calls Yaquiri (in the Mapa) and Quiquiari (in the Diario)" /the final parenthesis is missing/.

/22/ 185. "Five days of travel along the southern bank 133 the Tiquié disembogues. At a distance of three more days of travel it has a great cataract called Ipanoré ... Three more [135] days the mouth of the river Capuri on the southern bank. In the Tiquié River in the year of 1749 were found stones that, after being examined and melted, appeared to be of silver. By this river and by the Capuri one can go to the Apuapari (Apapóris), which empties on the northern bank of the Japurá, as was said: passing from the sources of that one to the Yeyá or Uayá River, which empties into the eastern branch of the Apuapari."

*101 186. "On the river Ucayari and on those that are collateral to it live Indians of the nations Uaupé, Cocuana, Quereruri, Uanana, Cubeuana, Burenarí, Mamangá, Panenuá and others. 304 The heathen of the Uaupé nation has a small orifice between 171 the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears; and another on the lower lip between the beard and the upper extremity of 301 the same lip. On the chest he wears a solid white stone, well [554] polished, cylindrical in shape and an inch in diameter, fixed at the neck with string and thread introduced through a small

/22 cont./

301 554 hole that is made artificially across the middle from one extremity to the other: the principals wear them about half a span long; the nobles, a little less, and the common people much shorter."

301 135 171 187. "Some Indians of the Tariarana nation, inhabitants of the Capuri River, were seen at another time with little plates of gold /Port. folhetas de ouro/ in the ears, which, in exchange for feathers, they bought from Indians of other nations, whom they did not know. Now it is known that the Indians of the Panenuá nation, who inhabited the upper part of the Ucayari, wear the same little plates and that from them they are passed on to the Tarianos. There is doubt, however, as to where the above-mentioned fragments of gold come from" (3).

3. Manoel da Gama Lobo D'Almada, who, by order of João Pereira Caldas, Governador of the Rio Negro, explored the passages from the Uaupés to the Japurá, in his report of September 13, 1785, manifests his opinion to the same Governador (Arthur Cesar Ferreira Reis -- Lobo D'Almada, p. 82) as follows: "In relation to the little Plates of gold which are said to have been worn by certain Indians of the Uaupés River as earrings; this is one thing about which I could not discover the slightest bit of information, although I have questioned many and different Nations, inhabitants of the same River, with whom I have talked. It could well be that those alleged little Plates of Gold were nothing but a chimeric illusion that originated from having seen in the ears of the said Indians the Wings of certain large, copper-colored Beetles, whose wings, after being dried, resemble some metallic kind because of their thickness and shine. /This footnote is continued on the next page of the original source./

135 "Finally I believe that this Notice of such little Plates of Gold of the Uaupés River is to that degree Fabulous, as certainly is the one that affirms, in the Synopsis of

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/22 cont./

135 /footnote 3 cont./ Padre Jozé Monteiro, that Certain Stones, extracted or brought from the Tiquié River in the year of 1749, if melted, appear to be of silver, when one is indeed made to believe that they are nothing but those Metallic Stones called Pyrites, of which I have sent Your Excellency some gathered in the Apaporis, and which are also found at the Tiquié River, which appear to be silver to most of the persons of my entourage, who were already carrying them as such."

*101 189. "The Issana is inhabited by Indians of the nations Baniva, Tumayari, Tuniari, Deçana, Puetana, Uerequena
• 171 and others. Those of the nation commonly called Uerequena,
[304] through corruption of the word /23/ Ariquena, have as a mark of distinction a very large hole between the cartilage and the lower extremity of the ears, in which they put
[551] bunches of straw. Among them are found many who, prior to communication and knowledge of Whites, had Hebrew names, some pure and others with slight corruption, such as: Joab, Jacob, Yacobí, Thomé, Thomequí, Davidú, Ivanan and Marianan."

b. Xavier Sampaio, in his "Diario," writes: -- No.
133 380. "Farther down the famous Ucayari, by another name
*[101] the Uaupés, derived from the nation called this, who principally inhabit it, creates a bar. It empties with two mouths and a triangular island of 20 leagues around and innumerable rocks and cachoeiras, very dangerous because of the frightening whirlpools they form... Toward the south the Tiquié and Capuri, which are the principal ones. Toward

/23 cont./

133 the north there runs a channel of communication with the river Guabiari, which descends from the environs of Santa
• 171 Fé de Bogotá. The Daçanas, Tarianas and Uaupés Indians
301 who might communicate with the Indians of the same Guabiari have been seen with earrings of very fine gold, which is supposedly extracted from the mines of New Granada."

*101 381. "The Uaupés is inhabited by many nations, the
301 principal ones of which are Cocuana, Macu, Macucoena,
554 Uananá, Tariana, Deçaca (sic), Urinaná, Timanará, Boanari, Mamengá, Panenuá; the most famous one, however, is the Uaupés because of the difference of various degrees of nobility that they admit among them; what serves as the distinction, like a military order, is a very smooth, white stone, cylindrical in shape and pierced in order to pass through it a cord, with which they wear it at the neck. Those of the principals reach up to half a span in length. Those of the nobles are smaller, and those of
[304] the common people much smaller. The Uaupés wear the ears and lips pierced."

127 c. Numerous and interesting pieces of information are found in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Wallace and Koch Grünberg. We shall cite them whenever an opportunity presents itself to us, as confirmation of what is found at present, or to verify a modification of indigenous customs, or, finally, to rectify those authors' observations that seem incorrect to us.

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/Illustrations facing p. 33 in the original source/

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Maloca under construction (Kubewana tribe)

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At Ambaína (Querari River, tributary of the Uaupés)

Maloca under construction (Iawareté-tapuya tribe, Siari River, tributary of the Içana)

/67 cont./

842 b) An unquestionable fact is the fertility of the Indian woman. From the investigations made, there was reported to us only one instance of an individual's sending his wife back as sterile, the judgment, evidently, of the husband. In spite of the advantages or convenience of the Indian woman who does not want to have many children (and we have heard from their lips several times this declaration: "it is ugly to have many children"), and the practices that they use to space each delivery 2, 3, and even 4 or more years apart, the presence of numerous children in each povoado pleasantly surprises us. In our investigations we found a vigorous Indian man about 45 years of age, who had 11 children (24).

[171] 24. It is a matter of the Indian Agostinho Barbosa of the Taryana tribe, in Iauareté. It is true that in December of 1948 four of his 11 children had already died.

163 On one of our lists of individuals of various tribes, in the casual order in which the anthropometric measurements were made, 20 married people among men and women, of about 35 years of age or older, presented a total of 101 children. Therefore an average of 5 children per couple is shown. It is to be noted that only 18 dead children, without discrimination as to age, appear on this same list. If we imagine that all adults marry (ordinarily after 20 years of age) (25),

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[587] 25. There was reported to us only the case of one man who did not find a wife; it is to be noted, however, that it was a matter of a widower.

and that the two sexes more or less correspond in number, it should be concluded that the population has

/69 cont./

*101 On our anthropometric file cards representatives of fourteen tribes appear, to wit: 1. Arapásu, 2. Bará, 3. Desana, 4. Karapanã, 5. Kubêwana, 6. Pirá-tapuya, 7. Suryana, 8. Tukano, 9. Tuyuka, 10. Yurití, 11. Wanana, 12. Kumãdene (or Ipéka-tapuya, water-duck people), 13. Taryãna, 14. Makú.

We also had an opportunity for communication with the tribes: 1. Ba:remasã, 2. Edúrya, 3. Emõã-masã (guariba-tapuya), 4. Hanẽrã (panẽnõa), 5. Íde-masã (water people, or Aõnĩã), 6. Oá-mahã (mikura-tapúya), 7. Páboa-masã (tatú-tapúya), 8. Roéra-masã (tarayra-tapuya), 9. Yebá-masã, 10. Mirití-tapúya, 11. Ihwãna, 12. Tsẽna, all of the Tukano /Tucano/ group, and with a dozen tribes of the Arwáke /Arawak/ group, of the rivers Içana and Aiarí.

We do not include in the present study the tribes of the Içana. Nowadays relations are free and easy and trade is frequent between these tribes and the ones who inhabit the upper Uaupés. Not infrequently individuals from that river are found settled in the basin of the Uaupés. Entire groups /70/ have abandoned the Içana and tributaries, judged as "blighted," that is, through the scarcity of fish, and many times attracted by the greater comfort that the Catholic Missions provide for the inhabitants of the rivers Uaupés and Negro.

829 An impressive fact in such a notable physiological and
• 171 cultural melting-pot is that all the natives, even the children, proudly know how to distinguish and express precisely the group to which they belong. What would be the basis for this distinction? There being in effect the law that the children belong to the nation of their own father, it is easy for the
000 individual to indicate what his own tribe would be. What, however, would be the foundations for this distinction between tribes? The first foundation, in dealing with nationality, would evidently be of a bio-ethnological order.

/77 cont./
142 Suryãna, and Íde-masã are lighter (16).
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16. The hair, too, corresponding to the pigment, becomes less dark. In a Suryãna adolescent from Acuaricuara, it was as reddish as the beard of one of the Hollandish Missionaries who was evangelizing them.

184 The Íde-masã, Bará, and Kubêwãna exhibit the handsomest types.
• 171
*192

b. By the cultural elements (work and industry).

[322] [531] The Tukano are the manufacturers of the banquinhos /small benches, footstools/, which they decorate with their characteristic paintings. And many times the lines of the bench appear on their objects as a decorative element, for example, the curve on the cigar case and on the handle of the oar.

[285] [531] The Desana are specialists in making panniers and mats; also with colorful ornamentation in original motifs.

[501] [439] The Tuyuka were the first manufacturers of canoes, selling them later to those of other tribes, who today are beginning to imitate them, without, however, surpassing them.

[278] [411] [567] The Makú are the region's exclusive manufacturers of the handsome panniers of cipo, "aturá" type, of curare (poison for the arrows), and of the original weapon, which is the sarabatana /blowgun/, products that they later deliver to those of other tribes, when they serve them as slaves.

[501] The Baniva or Arwake of the Içana manufacture, with exclusiveness, the grater and are likewise excellent canoeists.

[226] /78/ While the cacurí, as a fishing process, is general to all the tribes, the Pirá-tapuya have characteristic baskets for fishing, and sieves with their designs.

[301] As for the ornaments for the dances, originally only the Tukano group used the acangatara and the ornamental stone at the neck (VII-3, d). The yay-gõ (stick of the onça, VII-3, c (3)) and the cipo shield (VI-2, e), which they use at the feasts, at the time of drinking the kaxpí (VI-4, i (3)), come from the Desãna (cf. Koch G., Zwei Iahíre, 218).

/79 cont./

121 Among the tribes of the region being studied, we noted
171 the presence of small human groups of sylvicolists par
433 excellence, that is hunters, more or less nomadic; they are
241 the Maku. Whereas the other tribes are fluminicolists, that is, established on the banks of the important watercourses and given to fishing and agriculture. Although some Maku groups have assimilated many of the customs of the other tribes, we do not include them in these studies. We have already pointed out (I, Note 1) that the Maku are probably the most ancient inhabitants of the region.

The tribes that we studied are classified, then, in two large linguistic families:

101 1st, Tukano Family, covering the tribes: 1. Daxseá
121 or Tukano; 2. Bará or Barasana; 3. Bã:re-masã or Temyú-tapuya (food people); 4. Doxká-foará or Tuyuka (clay people); 5. Edúrya or Erúlya; 6. Emõã-masã or Warĩwa-tapuya (guariba people); 7. Hanẽra or Panẽnoá; 8. Ĩde-masã, Aõ-nĩra, Makuná or Yĩ-tapuya /80/ (water people); 9. Ihwana or Yona; 10. Koneá or Arapásu (woodpecker people); 11. Kótirya or Wanana; 12. Mõxtã or Karapanã-tapuya (daddy-longlegs people); 13. Neenõã or Miriti-tapuya (buriti people); 14. Oá-mahã or Mikura-tapuya (gambá people); 15. Pamĩwa or Kubewana; 16. Páboa-maxsã or Tatu-tapuya (tatu people); 17. Roéra-masã or Taraíra-tapuya (taraíra people); 18. Surirá or Suryana; 19. Tsẽna; 20. Yebá-masã; 21. Wahyara, Waíana or Yuriti-tapuya (dove people); 22. Waĩ-khãna or Pirá-tapuya (fish people); 23. Winá or Desana.

2nd. Arwake Family, including the tribes: 1. Kumãdene or Ipeka-tapuya (water-duck people); 2. Talyáseri or Taryana. We speak only of these two, because the other tribes of this numerous family do not inhabit the Uaupés basin, and, indeed, that of the rivers Içana, Xié, and Negro.

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c) BÁ:RE-MASÃ OR TẽMYÚ-TAPUYA

*101 1) People-Name-Language -- The idiom of the Bá:re-masã, or "food people," likewise belongs to the family of Tukano languages. As can be verified by the Vocabulary that we collected (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia /Indigenous Idioms of Amazonia/"), it is quite close to the language of the Roéra. We met a representative of the Bá:re-masã Tribe living among the Íde-masã of the Comé--ía (maloca Bõhõ-rya-hidó, mouth of the stream of the spider). He was (in August of 1956) a type of about 38 to 40 years old, short in stature, fat, skin of a light bronze, nose small and high at the point, rounded face, not very prominent zygoma, and almost cymotrichous black hair. He had pierced ears, with a plug approximately one centimeter in diameter stuck through them, the largest orifice in the lobes that we have found among the various tribes of the Uaupés.

[144] [301] [304] [171]

The law of the exogamy is also in force within the tribe, and marriages seem to be concluded with the Hanẽra, Bará, and Íde-masã.

[582]

2) Habitat and inhabitants -- The tribe of the Bá:re-masã is very reduced in members. We know of the existence of a maloca on the stream Umũ-ía (stream of the japú /bird/), tributary of the left bank of the stream Timí-ia (stream of the otter), which, in turn, flows in on the left bank of the Pirá-paraná, a little above the mouth of the Comé-ia.

[115] 3) Divisions -- The above informant, called Titõyã (also known by the name of Domingos), indicated to us as being divisions of his tribe: 1st. -- Íde-masã, 2nd. -- Ogóro-sõroa. It is probable that the first subdivision, Íde-masã, is the principal tribe of the Comé-ia (cf. IV -- 2, h) considered related to the Bá:re-masã, and not a simple division of the latter. The Ogóro-sõroa are the Hógolo-tsõloa or Tsõroa mentioned by Koch-Grũnberg (Z. I. 370) on the Yauacacá-Igarapé, almost identical to the Edúrya in idiom.

/91 cont./

*101 f) EMÕÁ-MASÃ OR GUARIBA-TAPUYA

1) People-Name-Language. -- Emõá, in the native idiom, is the name of the guariba /howler/ monkey. Their language also belongs to the Tukano family /92/ (cf. Vocabulary in "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazonia"). We found /some words, perhaps a line of the text, are missing here in the original source/ [144] Ide-masã of the maloca Bũhõ-rya-hidó of the Comé-ia. This was a type of average stature, slender body, delicate features, not very prominent zygoma, elongated face, high, thin nose, skin lighter than that of the Tukano, fine, black, somewhat • [171] wavy hair.

[582] Tribal exogamy is observed. We know of marriages with Ide-Masã, Hanẽra, and Bará.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. They inhabit the forests between the headwaters of the Tiquié and the river Pirá-paraná. They are few nowadays, according to the informant, who could give us barely 3 subdivisions. It is to be noted that, according to the informant, the Yebá and Roéra are part of her tribe. This agrees with some information obtained three years previously from a Yéba, who, among the divisions of his tribe, named [361] the Emõá and the Roéra (cf. IV-2, t). If the Yéba are to be [171] included among the Emõá, these would be, in all, several hundreds of individuals, because the Yéba live in several malocas in the region embraced between the Comé-ia and the Pirá-paraná.

Koch Grũnberg (Z. I. 401) speaks of the greatly feared Guarĩua or Guariba-Tapuya located below the Juruí and Passé, that is, in the basin of the river Japurá. The Emõá can not be identified with these Guariua-Tapuya, but rather with the Õmõá of the sources of the Tiquié.

[115] 3) Divisions. Informant, the Indian woman Misirã, about 50 years old (1957), also known as Joaquina, wife of the Ide-masã tuxáua of the Comé-ia:

/108 cont./

*101 as brothers or relatives of those of another tribe, with matrimonial interdication, although they are distinguished, not only by the language, but even somatically or bio-ethnologically. This is the case, for example, with regard to the Tukano and Bará.

3) Divisions -- The informant above indicated to us only the Yebá-Yetána. Various tribes, such as the Hanêra, Yebá, Emõã, indicated as their subdivision the Roéra or Taraíra. Is it actually a matter of /109/ subdivisions of these tribes, or do the Roéra constitute a tribe per se? If the dialectic difference is small, as the Vocabularies compared reveal to us, the somatic one is greater, in spite of the matrimonial arrangement that binds these tribes. If we keep in mind the fact that among all these tribes exogamous marriage is in force as a strict law (cf. 1, a (1)), matrimonial non-interdiction could serve as a criterion for distinguishing the tribes, although the interdiction is not always useful as a classificatory criterion.

r) SURIRÁ OR SURYANA

1) People-Name-Language -- They call themselves Surirá, meaning unknown, and they are called Suryana by those of other tribes. Probably it is the same tribe as the one called Cirango by Curt Nimuendajú.

Their language belongs to the Tukano group, as is seen in the Vocabulary that we collected and recorded (cf. "Discoteca Etno-linguistico-musical" and "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"). Possibly the one that comes in the 16th place in the linguistic classification of Chestmir (cf. "Idiomas Indígenas da Amazônia"), and he has located it erroneously on the river Caiari.

[144] [171] [829] They are lighter in complexion than the Tukano, small face, less Mongoloid features, and also shorter and less corpulent than they are. Morally more decayed, they are regarded by the Tukano as inferior, and they judge themselves as such. They are, in reality, slower in assimilating civilization, lazier, less

/109 cont./

*101 susceptible to stimulus (40).

40. The appearance of their homes in Acuaricuara confirms the impression that they are more decayed. It is true that in November of 1953 two Suryana families were building the two best houses of the missionary povoado. About the moral decadence, the fact that a father was living maritally with his daughter. It must be pointed out that the Tukano did not accept a Suryana as a labor overseer; nevertheless, in the Mission school the two most intelligent young men were Suryana.

[171] [835] [829] [797]

In Acuaricuara we found Suryana married to Tukano and to Desana; matrimonial interdiction is thus not in force between these tribes. Exogamy is also mandatory among the Suryana.

2) Habitat and inhabitants. We found some groups on the headwaters of the Papurí and on the river Paca (Acuaricuara and surroundings). They are not to be confused with the Širyaná of Arwake origin located on the Demêni, whom Curt K. identified with the Bahuna.

According to the information obtained in Acuaricuara, the Suryana tribe is greatly reduced in members. There would be about 250 individuals: 120 in S. Geraldo (river Paca), 80 in Vinha-igarapé, 30 in Uiva-igarapé, and 20 in Tapira-cachoeira (river Paca).

[115] /110/ 3) Divisions. -- Informant Manoel Rodriguez from Acuaricuara.

1. Tu-boá (?), in S. Geraldo
2. Behé burisêra (Suryana tapurú /caterpillar/), in Vinha-igarapé
3. Wiva (arrow), in Uíva-igarapé (river Paca, above Tapira-cachoeira)

/119 cont./

A101 Their Arwáke ancestry makes us think of a probable descent by way of the rivers Orinoco-Negro, some groups (Ipeka, Baniva, etc.) becoming localized through the valley of the Içana and Xié, and others (Baré and Taryãna) descended farther. The Baré went as far as the mouth of the Rio Negro, and the Taryãna as far as that of the Uaupés, whose stream they later went up. These migrations must have taken place several centuries ago. Actually, at the time of the discoveries, the Arwáke were already found on the rivers that they now occupy. Furthermore, the first explorers who reached the Orinoco River found among the local tribes the belief that the inhabitants of the Rio Negro were giants (cf. Sampaio, "Diario" of 1774-5, p. 302). We can then infer an interval of centuries for the appearance and generalization of legends of this sort.

[829]
[171]

/120/ Habitat and inhabitants. -- The statistics of the Missions of the Capuchin Monks from 1880 to 1888 indicate 11 aldeias inhabited by the Taryana, with a total of 2,272 souls, whose principal centers were: Iauareté, S. Joaquim, Naná-Rapecũma, S. Jerônimo, Micura-Rapecũma, Carurú-cachoeira. We can affirm that, of these centers indicated, at present there are Taryãna only in Iauareté, S. Jerônimo de Ipanoré, and Micura-Rapecũma. The last data that we have show only 717 in Ipanoré, Pinú-pinú, Cigarro Buzina and from Iauareté up to Periquito, all the localities on the river Uaupés, and in Aracapá, Japurá and surroundings on the river Papurí, and on the river Javiarí. It is possible that other Arwáke groups closer in language and customs, residing in the basin of the Içana, were included in the reckoning of the Capuchins.

3) Divisions. -- In October of 1953 a group of Taryana from Iauareté, among them two old men more than 60 years of age, verified the list that we are giving below and obtained on previous trips. There was indecision among the informants regarding the order and meaning of the names, due, perhaps, to the decline of the group, which, besides its reduction in members, is losing its own idiom.

/160 cont./

142 All of them have a full figure, up to about 30 years of age. After that age, corpulence becomes exaggerated in some men, and the women on the whole lose weight, growing old prematurely. They do not promote any deformation for aesthetic or warlike effect (34).

[171] [304]

34. The deformation of the skull is characteristic of the Caraíbas /Carib/, applying tight splints to the children's heads. Among the Amazon tribes the first explorers found this custom among the Cambeba ("Roteiro" /Logbook/ of Pe. Noronha, 145). In some tribes, for example, the Pinao of Colombia, this was done in order to have a fierce appearance.

826 The maidens exhibit round, well-developed breasts. They identify beauty with corpulence. When someone changes climate in order /two pages of illustrations appear here/ /161/ to gather strength, they say that "he went in search of meat." No preoccupation with the waistline; they do not use a girdle.

302 The hair in particular is an object of vanity. They arrange it, comb it often, the women and the new generation of men. The young men, during trips, gather flowers from the bank of the river and string them through their hair, over the ear. They apply lotions, which they prepare with genipap and other plants, in order to keep it black. This is the secret in why they never become gray... They love beads, soaps, perfumes. A maiden sold herself for half a jar of pomade.

They like the mirror very much and stare at it frequently; formerly they gave an oar in exchange for a small mirror.

The young women are sad about being dark, and in order to lighten the skin they rub it vigorously with soap and even with sand, looking at themselves again each time, in order to see whether they are becoming fairer.

/166 cont./

521 593 [115] It is to be noted that the husband never converses with his wife at night, only during the day, and they carry on long talks when they are resting after work. At night only gossip among persons of the same /167/ sex is permitted (so we were informed by the old Taryana woman Teodora from Iauareté, and Dorotéia Brito, Tukano, confirmed it) (44).

[184]

44. Among the Ide-maxsã of the stream Koméya, we have observed conversation between husband and wife during the night. Perhaps phrases imposed by necessity are not forbidden, and only conversation for diversion is prohibited.

171 521 574 [115] A singular meeting of pajés gave us the chance of an excursion to the middle Uaupés in May of 1956. We were traveling in the company of two Tukano pajés, Marcelino and Henrique, the pajé of Juquira and of Japú-igarapé, respectively. A breakdown in the stern motor forced us to stop longer in the povoado of Periquito, of the Taryana tribe. The two pajés in transit greeted in a common manner the Taryana colleague of the locality. Soon afterwards, however, the three pajés settled down on the bank of the river at a distance of 50 or 60 centimeters from one another, each one smoking his cigarette (which one of the visitors had given to the other two). And without looking at each other, turned toward the river, they started to recite, in quite a loud voice and characteristic tone, which could be distinguished some 20 meters away. That dialogue lasted more than half an hour, during which now one and then another of the three would take turns speaking, always with the intervention of the other two, who would repeat the last words of the speaker's sentence, or other words, by way of refrain. It was a recollection of the episodes that, according to the legends of the origins, took place in those surroundings, the story of their islands, canals, cachoeiras, and rocks, a recollection with the power of an exorcism and augury of successful navigation. It was not possible for us to determine whether there was also an invocation of the "mothers of the things,"

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as Stradelli affirms having witnessed on the occasion of the imposition of the name (45).

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45. A similar event took place in August of 1956 on the Ribeirão /stream/ Timí-ya (left tributary of the river Pirá-paraná). At the hour for breakfast we stopped in a clearing that rose on the left of anyone who went down the stream. One of our oarsmen, of the Bará tribe, found there a tribal "brother" of his. Our oarsman, then, stopped his repast, and the two Bará, standing on a large felled trunk, turned toward the west (probably in order not to have the sun hurting their face), likewise without looking at each other, engaged in a dialogue with each other in a very loud voice. It was again the augury of a happy trip, through the recollections of the legends of the origins, as we were told. This dialogue must have lasted a quarter of an hour; afterwards the two of them sat down on the trunk and continued in a cheerful conversation, in a lower and friendly tone, while they ate, since our oarsman put our food at the disposal of his "brother," and both served themselves freely.

This same Bará oarsman provided us with a similar spectacle the following night, although in more unpleasant circumstances. A storm and the dark of the night caught us navigating the Pirá-paraná, and precisely in the vicinity of the dangerous "cachoeira /this footnote is continued on the next page in the original source/ of the beijú." A tent was improvised with two small canvases, which protected the luggage and some hammocks, on the left bank. About midnight the sound of oars was heard; a canoe approached the bank and its crew came up, among them an old man of the Ihwãna tribe. Either they already knew each other or this

\/210 cont./

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/footnote 41 cont./ point out that this is precisely the custom of these Indians, to name the plants according to the use for which they are intended.

which at first sight is similar to a hernia truss. It consists of a strap of goods about six or eight centimeters in width, covering the private parts, passing in between the legs and tied at the ends to a cord as a waistband, at the height of the flanks. Naturally this string must be uncomfortable, and probably, in order to get used to it, the little boys, before wearing the waxsó-ro, start by wearing only the waist string. It also seems that there is no prescribed age for the wearing of the waxsó-ro. Certainly all the boys wear it after six or eight years of age.

As for the persons of female sex in the povoados along the rivers Uaupés, Tiquié, and Papurí, from a very early age, certainly from 3 or 4 years old, they now appear before the civilized with the body completely covered, or at least with a skirt from the waist to below the knee. The cases of a simple short skirt above the knee or a piece of cloth wrapped around like a tanga /a covering hanging from the waist/ are very rare.

Evidently these coverings are prescribed by the civilized, notably by the Catholic Missions. Would they have anything original, how and of what material?

There is no doubt but that the masculine waxsó-ro, from the shape and the use, is neither imitation of the Civilized nor advice of the latter to the Indian, although it is made with imported goods and not with the fabric made by the Indians or embira of tururí. The waxsó-ro is of very ancient and general use among the Karaíba tribes of America. Wallace, a century ago, among the Indians of the Uaupés, describes it to us as being a piece of liber or bast of tururí (42).

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42. In the middle of the eighteenth century (1759) Padre José M. de Noronha reports it for the Tecuna (o. c. No. 139).

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224 d) Meats and edible animals. Hunting, as we find it in the present stage, is only a sport for the Indian. If we exclude the "wild pigs" (of the genera Dicotyles and Tayassu), which sometimes appear in herds in certain places (48),

> 48. Just as the piracema /shoal of fish/ appears, as a rule, in the same places, so do the wild pigs have their habitual path and customarily cross the rivers at certain points, where the hunter catches them.

when the river is low and the javarizeiro /palm tree, Astrocaryum/ ripens its fruit, game is rare. It is used, therefore, only to vary the "menu" from time to time. All the more since the Indian will always share the fruit of his hunting with those who live in the same maloca, and he will commonly do it for those who reside in houses neighboring his (if he does not sell it to the civilized).

252 They prepare the game by "moqueando-a" /smoking it/, like the fish. And it seems that they never eat raw meat; they even say that it is only Wax-tí who eats raw meat. And they also
262 eat snake meat. The principal animals that serve them as food are (49):

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> 49. The dogs are generally skinny and often also sick; for this reason and because of the services that they render, they do not eat them. There are indications that in Parí-cachoeira (river Tiquié) the natives ate a fat dog killed by a shotgun. The caboclo of the Rio Negro is incapable of killing a dog, even a sick one. He fears that this "sin" (as they think and say) would bring upon them the punishment of S. Lazarus, who they regard as protector of the dogs and who would punish them, probably, with leprosy.

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*[192]

b) Hunting.

1) Hunting by pursuit (amɨ̃ sirõ-tú pexkayesé).

The fauna of the Amazonian northwest is poor, in quality and quantity, in animals for eating. But hunting, besides providing food, is an enjoyable sport for the Indian. Poor as it is, hunting in the dense virgin forest can only be practiced by groups
[177] of two or three Indians. Rarely will he go out alone, until very recently, when he obtained a shotgun from the civilized. With the shotgun or with the bow, the Indians are worthy /243/ hunters. He will also rarely go in large groups; this only when they locate in some zone a herd of wild pigs. Then they try to surround them, and with arrows and stabbing sticks /Port. paus terçados/ they kill a large number (72).

72. Not infrequently it happens that the herd of pigs, starving or attacked, attacks the men, who save themselves by quickly climbing the trees.

A man's treasured helpers in hunting are the dogs, small, skinny, and often almost blind because of the stings of the ants, taxi, but, perhaps for this very reason, with a more acute sense of smell.

• [171] The Makú are specialized hunters. When they go to track the animal chased by the dogs, they make a lot of noise, with characteristic cries, and nothing, neither the cipos, thorns, nor other obstacles, is able to stop them.

*[192] 2) Hunting by ambush (pexkáye du'tigõ or pexkáye pe'sã-kõ).

The animals have their drinking places (73)

73. On the upper Tiquié, near the Cachoeira Grande, one sees a stone that the antas come to lick. The ground or stone with natural salts, and for this reason sought by the antas, deer, and other animals, is called "anta sucker."

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439 The Indians who are in contact with the civilized obtain clothing and many objects from them in order later to resell these to other natives. It has been verified that in this trade they show economic judgment and know how to make large profits, not only among the Indians of a different tribe, but also among their own tribal "brothers" (82).

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82. We know, for example, that the Tukano Indians residing in Melo Franco received flour from other Tukano from the mouth of the Áua in order to sell it to the Salesian Mission, and for this transaction alone they demanded from their "brothers" 50 per cent of the price of the flour.

8) Means of communication.

501 For their trade and social relations the means of communication are the rivers and igarapés; the canoe, then, is the primary means of transportation (83).

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83. They never build rafts. The Maku, because they only live in the interior of the forests, do not know how to make canoes, nor do they possess them. They say that sometimes they improvise rafts in order to cross rivers or their branches. These are very rare events, however.

491 Since ordinarily these rivers are quite wide and subject to great differences in level and impetuousness of the waters during the time of high water, it is not possible to build bridges. As for passage across small brooks, they either do it by fording them or they take down trees without any concern except that they connect the two banks. This work, by the way, is very rare, because at every step one finds trees felled by storms, which serve as bridges.

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484 823 As for the sharp sense of direction of the natives in the forest, or their topographic sense, which has been praised so much, it seems to be the fruit of poetic imagination, if it is generalized for the tribes of the Caiarí. They know very well the rivers and forests that they frequent; however, they do not risk going very far into the forest. They tell of various episodes in which they were lost in the forest. And, in order for this not to happen, they avail themselves of the expedient of breaking branches, all in the same direction, as they draw • [171] away from the usual paths. The Makú live in the interior of the forests, are hunters, and therefore orient themselves better. It is to be pointed out, however, that they are seminomadic and always travel in groups.

b) Mathematics.

*192 802 The natives have different names for the first five numbers and distinguish the masculine, feminine, and neuter (thing), to wit:

Number	Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1	nikã, nikõ	nĩkõ	nikã
2	põãra, pöana	põãra, póana	pöa, pöáro
3	i'tyãra, i'tyãna	i'tyãra, i'tyãna	i'tyá, I'tyáro
4	ba'pári-tĩra	ba'pári-tĩra	ba'pári-tise
(Uaupés)	bapári-tĩna	ba'pári-tĩna	
5	nikã-mũköra	nikã-mũköra	nikã-mũköse
(Uaupés)	nikã-mũköna	nikã-mũköna	

It should be noted that Nikã-mũkõ̃ra, properly speaking, means one hand. And ordinarily they prefer to indicate the number of fingers (2, 3, etc.) rather than pronounce the numbers. From five on, all of them, practically, are content to show the corresponding number of fingers. The more intelligent ones know how to count up to twenty, using the fingers of the hands and the toes. They no longer know how to count numbers higher than twenty.

*192 804 Properly speaking they do not have measures of extension or length. They speak of sẽ̃rõ (sẽ̃nõ), nikáti sẽ̃rõ, the breadth of the arm span or the two open arms, põáti sẽ̃rõ, two arm-spans, etc.; a step, yeraró, nikáti yeraró, one step; a handspan, wamũ-ka keoró or wamũ-pama-keoró, nikã pama, one handspan, põã wamũ-ka-keoró, two handspans, ba'páritise wamũ-ka-peosé, four handspans.

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*192 301 j) Earrings. The men also wear in the ears long earrings, possibly of gilded metal, axpõã-phĩ (65).

[171] 65. The Makú tuxáua of Iauareté had as earrings a gun cartridge burnished and sawed lengthwise into two halves, one in each ear.

[237] When they do not /315/ have them, they put on by way of earrings a bunch of colorful feathers. We have already observed that [177] the young generation, in contact with the civilized, no longer [304] pierces the lobes of the ears and for this reason no longer will wear earrings in the dances.

[237] k) Bracer. The bracer, baxsá karõ-ga, is a large ring of monkey fur, from which hang as little flocks cords of the same fur, with beautiful arara feathers. It is fitted to the left arm, at the height of the elbow.

*192 554 l) Adze. It is the primitive adze, syó-a yaxpú, for work in wood (see VI - 2, b) and today used only as a dance ornament. It consists of a branch curved like a hook, yaxpú, about 30 centimeters in height, quite smooth, and with plumes attached by means of sorva milk. At one of the ends it bears, fastened in, a solid stone (which today is mere decoration, also a piece of very hard wood) in the shape of an ax, but narrower. This instrument is used by the most important individuals (tuxaua, komĩ, bayá) and goes on the left shoulder.

*192 534 535 237 m) Decorations of the flutes. In certain dance numbers they carry in the right hand a bone flute, membĩ (see above, Musical Instruments), or even a small bone from the onça /jaguar/ or another animal, variously decorated with one of the following ornaments:

1st. -- Mahã-iti. It consists of 8 or 10 red tail feathers from the arara, tied to a twist. This twist is wrapped around one end of the flute or bone, like a crest or fan.

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765 most horrible stench, there remaining at the end only the carbonized bones, which are immediately ground up and reduced [415] to powder. This powder is then placed in various enormous tubs (vats or vessels made out of wood) full of caxiri. The group present then drinks the caxiri until the last drop is finished. They believe that by so doing the virtues of the dead are transmitted to everyone who takes this drink."

171 765 It is a custom that is found among other tribes of America, and even of the Amazon, according to the information from the ancient explorers, for example, among the Warekena of the rivers Içana and Xié, the Šomena of the river Japurá, etc. (cf. "Roteiro /Logbook/" of Pe. Noronha, 222). And, according to what was told us in Urubucuara, river Uaupés, this custom was in force until the end of the last century among the Taryana, until the beginning of this one among the Kubewãna, according to what Koch G. states and, moreover, what the Wanãna of Carurú-cachoeira told us in 1955, and it is the present practice of the tribes of the river Cauaburi, among whom Pes. Miguel Ghigo and Antônio Goes were present at such events.

[115] The same custom also existed among the Wanãna, we were assured by Tomás Paiva, son of the tuxawa /sic/ of Carurú-cachoeira, and other young Wanãna, but it fell into disuse as early as two generations ago.

765 Among the Kubewãna Koch G. (Z. I. 316) was present at one of these events in the maloca of Namacoliba (?). The Tuxaua disinters the remains of his predecessor, dead for 15 years, and burns it in front of the maloca. The carbonized bones are later cleaned and placed in a pot on the fire day and night for a month, until they are reduced to ashes. These, on the occasion of a solemn caxiri, which is held with a large crowd of people, are pounded, sifted, and mixed with a thick drink, prepared in great abundance with maize. The Tuxaua, with a stick, tries to spread the ashes well in the drink, and afterwards, with a large cuia, distributes it to the men standing around him. It is a drink reserved for the old ones and the fathers and mothers of families, who, although they might not be old, already have three children.

765 /377 cont./
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Koch concludes that at this cannibalistic feast there were dances of masks on which he could verify the following details: the participants wore a band of yellow bark as a stole on the neck, and on the left arm a banner of bark, in the right hand a rhythm tube (VII -- 3, c (3 c)) of imbauba, with paintings representing fish. They advance and back up and, marking time with the right foot, carry on a monotonous song with innumerable repetitions.

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We could seek the origin of this peculiar custom, which is also found among other tropical tribes of South America, teaches Koch, in the belief that the bones that remain after death are the /378/ last place in which the spirits reside. And with the ingestion of the ashes the individuals incorporate in themselves the substance and the spirit of the ancestors.

5. Morality.

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When we deal with this subject, the necessity of some warnings beforehand is imposed:

1st. -- We limit the breadth of the term morality to the common and vulgar meaning, as if it were a synonym of moderation of carnal concupiscence, or further as a synonym of customs in force in sexual relations.

2nd. -- We present, naturally, those points in discrepancy with the norms of Christian morals and which, for this very reason, impress one more.

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3rd. -- Many of the customs that we were able to collect are not in force, obviously, in those groups or among those individuals who are under the influence of the Catholic Missions. But the Missionaries themselves are the first to confess that the modifications of the ancestral customs that they achieve in the field of morality are the fruit of many exhortations, vigilance, and the frequency of the sacraments and religious practices.

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Koró dikúya ayá kwá-yarí
Kapité marí apinã
Kapité marí kapité marí kuyá-yá kuya-arí
Kapité marí kuyá-yá yá yá-yá (whistle)

5. Song-dance with the yuxkõ (130)

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130. These sounds Perikuli (7th) and kwai (5th) are precisely the names of the principal personages of the Arwáke legends, corresponding, respectively, to Bũxpó and O'ã-kõ of the Tukano legends. Would it be a mere coincidence of sounds in different languages? Would they be Arwáke songs learned by the tribes of the Tukano group? Might all the dances of these tribes be of Arwáke origin?

Yá yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)
E yá yá perikú êê perikwê
Yaká yõ kayó yuaí
Yá piré-ku-li nomé-nõ
Perikwé pyaká wamé tyá
Pamí kwai peri-dikú êê yó
Perí-ku-li yá-yá yá-yá (whistle)

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6. Song-dance with the yuxkõ

Ma dyá pa-wõ (whistle)
Dyá diká apyá kapi akapyá
Kapi pawí diká yukú kapyá
Kapyá dewá yukú
Wapyá yukú deyé-wé
Kapyá kapi pawí dewá yukú
Kapyá kapi pawí dewá jukú
Wapi-a yukú nomã-a yavi
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Wapí yá yú mã-di-yá
Sawé sawé (whistle)

4: Silva--657 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

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177 551 Many times they refuse to reveal to the civilized the "blown name." It is not probable that a superstitious fear (the taboo of the name) enters into this refusal (51),

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> 51. Pièrre Gordon (L'initiation sexuelle et l'évolution réligieuse /The sexual initiation and religious evolution/, p. 132) explains "teknonymy," that is, the custom (incidentally quite widespread: Asia, Africa, America, Oceania) of not uttering the father's name and designating him by the expression: "the father of So-and-So" (saying the child's name), by means of the taboo of the name. The omission of the name would be a sign of respect, just as among many tribes the name of the sacred objects and, among the Jews, that of Javé /Yahweh/ are omitted. And thus he points out that among the Gold there is an interdiction against mentioning the father's name, while being able to say that of one's own mother or wife, because they are in an inferior position. Likewise among the tribes of the Caburí the woman never pronounces the husband's name, she will always say "the father of N."

as if the name represented part of the personality and, for this reason, to reveal it would be harmful to the individual. As a matter of fact, they call each other by the Christian name, and they indicate their own "blown name" and those of their companions with relative ease. The children at school call their companions by the Baxséke Wamẽ in fun and mockery. They hide it in shame, be it indecent or not, in order to seem civilized.

One notices a tendency to abbreviate the names: Candí (for Cândido), Beré (Bernardo), Mandú (Manoel). And many of them, due to the difficulty of pronunciation, corrupt the names:

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/footnote 60 cont./ customs and the extirpation of those which are contrary to the morality of the Gospel, retaining only those that do not harm this morality. For example, many of the young men are boarding in the Mission schools at the time of the puberty initiation. There are few cases in which the young men at such a time of life fail to return to the school, in order to go through the "rite of initiation." And some affirm that the youth can marry even without having been subjected to such a rite.

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after a theoretico-practical course. It is a matter of a religious function, as if it were the consecration or sanctification of the individual, who is integrated into the group of the worshipers of Wãx-tĩ.

*[192]

a) Course of male initiation -- Mĩĩ-mẽra, a'mõ-yesé (61).

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61. These data are based on descriptions made by natives of the Tukano, Wanana, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Tuyuka, Desana, Bará, Kumãdene, and Baré tribes. This last informant did it according to recollections of his initiation, more than thirty years before, in Tamanduá. It is, however, a general custom of all the tribes of the region, of the Tukano group as well as of the Arwáke and of the Makú, as the natives themselves affirmed.

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According to the number of inhabitants of a maloca, the young men, upon reaching puberty (62)

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62. The Baré Plácido from Melo informed us that at his initiation there were 20 young men in all, and about ten persons, between pajés and Komũã, instructed them. It was, however,

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869 /438 cont./
881 It has not been reported that these Indians might have the instru-
[534] ment "berra-boi" (bull-roarer).
[778] They must show proof of benefit from these instructions; otherwise they are beaten by the Komũã. This course, although short, is nevertheless intensive and exerts a great influence on the
[756] young men. /439/ Fear of the pajé grows in them (66),

> 66. One of the informants strongly insisted on this great fear of the pajé, because, although he does not beat them directly, he would order that the elders, the Komũã, do it.

they realize that they have ceased to be children, become serious, grave, showing a certain pride in their behavior, because now they are perfect citizens and able to form a family.

562 The end of this course is the incest with their own mother,
835 in the presence of the father and the pajé or Komũ, so testified
881 natives of several tribes. This rite marks the start of the public sexual life, because up to this time they can only practice it secretly.

562 b) Course of female initiation -- Mõ-yõãsé (67).
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[192] 67. It has been reported that it is also practiced,
[171] and with special solemnity, among the Caboclo
[126] descendants of the Coianá Indians in the interior of the forest about three kilometers from S. Joaquim do Coané (mouth of the Uaupés). We heard the description that follows directly from persons who went through the rite, two of them immediately after the initiation, being able not only to photograph one of them with her hair cut off, but even, through the offer of a dress, obtaining the hair. Since the informants belonged to
[115] ten different tribes (Tukano, Pirá-tapuya, Taryana, Kumãdene, Karapanã, Tuyuka, Desana, Wanana,

562 /444 cont./
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/footnote 82 cont./ however, she recovers her spirits, the operation is further repeated some four or five times with an interval of six hours. It is considered a great offense to the parents if the blows are not given with much force. During this test, all kinds of meats and fish are prepared in huge pots. Following that, those present dip into these the cipos, which immediately afterwards are given to the girl to lick. From then on she will be able to eat everything she wishes. And from this moment on she is considered a woman. She is thus ready for marriage" (o. c. 634).

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There perhaps is confusion with what happens among the tribes of the Içana and among the Kubewana of the upper Uaupés on the occasion of the dabacuris. According to what the Kubewana of the Ambaíba maloca, mouth of the Querari, told us, when the father of a youth decides to look for a wife for his son, he takes advantage of the dabacuri and applies to the chosen girl three lashes with the adabi (VII-4, e (2b)). If she stoutly endures the blows, it is an indication that she is already mature for dealing with the responsibilities of a home.

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In some Arwake tribes a caxiri is held later; it is the feast called Karyamã (83),

83. Karyamã is the name of the type of beijú prescribed for this circumstance.

which may last as long as four days (it seems that it is the same number of days as the seclusion of the girl). Then she will dance with everyone, including the pajé, and will smoke with them on the cigar made of banana leaves and tobacco. It seems that on

562 /444 cont./
881 this /445/ occasion there are games and entertainments among the
527 young individuals of the maloca (84).
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84. One of the informants spoke to us about the "game of the lemon" for this circumstance. We heard about a Makú girl, Teresa by name, who on this occasion ran away with the youth, with whom she spent a few days. It seems that this is a matter of a conventional flight, because in reality they withdrew to a hut about 20 or 30 meters from the maloca.

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881 Abstention from work for some days is verified; for example,
784 she will not light the fire, "in order not to be burned." Then the young woman resumes her normal life; she will work in the clearing and in the house with her mother. For another month, according to information by Dorotéia Brito, she may not taste salt or eat either piraíba or the flesh of large animals, "in order not to ruin the teeth" (85).
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85. Concerning a young Baré, sister-in-law of a Karapanã, in whose maloca, on the headwaters of the Áua, she submitted to the puberty rite, we were able to observe that she did in fact subject herself to a severe alimental diet, not accepting our salted foods, nourishing herself with beijú, tapioca, and fruits. We saw her, however, approach the fire, stir it up, and put some green bananas on to roast for herself.

881 During the following menstruation the rite of the seclusion of
562 the young woman is renewed. This second stage of the puberty
*[192] initiation is called Mahã-mĩ-nõsé. It is identical to the first one,

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

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[171] the details of which are as yet incompletely known. At one point or another Cubeo culture resembles virtually that of any other tropical forest tribe of the Amazon Basin. But to point this out is simply another way of calling attention to the common underlying character of all tropical forest cultures. More specifically, one is aware of the strong Tupían influences observable in such traits as the large communal house, a system of fortification, slavery, extended patrilineal families, and the practice of giving a child the name of an ancestor. The Tupían intrusion up the headwaters of the Amazon and its tributaries is probably quite old. Of more recent date and a more striking example of acculturation from native sources is the Arawakan influence. In the relationships between Arawakan-speaking tribes and Tucanoans there has been the opportunity for massive interchange of cultural features, for apart from the ordinary modes of cultural influence, of trading, visiting, and intermarrying, entire social segments, usually sibs, it would seem, have been accepted as entities into one another's tribal organization. Since sib relations in the region are founded upon intensive reciprocal ceremonial participation, it is inevitable that entire ceremonial complexes will be exchanged once a foreign group has been drawn into the social structure. That the social structures will also become mutually compatible may be taken for granted. The student of Cubeo is almost instantly aware of the Arawakan influence, in vocabulary and in religious concepts. The Cubeo culture hero *Kúwai* is the Arawakan *Kówai*. The term for jaguar and for shaman, *yuvi*, is shared by Tucanoans and Arawakans. As Koch-Grünberg was the first to observe (1909, I, 129 ff.), the complex mourning ceremonies among Cubeo and among Arawakan-speaking tribes are also remarkably similar.

[342] [712] [567] [596] [553] [614] [796] [773] [197] [765]

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197 It was Koch-Grünberg who called attention to the rapidity of culture interchange in the Northwest Amazon. On the Papurý River he encountered Tariana Indians who were giving up their native Arawakan, having just arrived from the Isana, and were beginning to speak Tucanoan (1909, I, 116). Similarly he reported that a Cariban-speaking Umaua group had settled among Cubeo of the upper Vaupés and had begun to speak Tucanoan (1909, II, 65). On the Cuduiarí River the *Hürüwá* had given up Arawakan in favor of the dominant Tucanoan (1909, II, 81). On the Querarí River the *Djurémawa* had also yielded up Arawakan for Tucanoan (1909, II, 66). Macú also had assimilated both to Arawakan and to Tucanoan (1909, I, 50, II, 98). How fleeting these language shifts can be is brought out by Koch-Grünberg's example of an Arawakan group that had assimilated to Tucanoan and was almost immediately shifting

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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in part, I believe, to cosmopolitanism, to the capability of the Indians to adopt foreign objects and foreign customs without losing their sense of identity as Indian. As long as the point of view remains Indian, the culture may change but it will still retain for the Indian a distinctive and satisfying pattern. It is when the clear identification as Indian in the cultural sense is lost that change is likely to mean breakdown.

Cosmopolitanism is but one general factor in a process of culture change that is exceedingly intricate and subtle, in which there are no clear-cut stages but endless gradations in the transition from Indian to the new cultural and psychological entity that emerges. Another general factor is the white agent. On the Cuduiarí the white man does not intrude directly upon the Indian's daily life. The missionary expects the Indian to come to him at the mission station. Even then the missionary effort is a patient one. Mainly it goes through the children who are educated at the mission school. Mission Indians and tribal Indians lead different lives but they are not mutually antagonistic. Between them there is a gradation but not a gap.

The commercial white man, the rubber collector (*balatero*), or the trader has only a limited interest in the Indians. The Indian, having completed his contract work in the rubber forest, returns to his own community and is instantly enmeshed in the tribal life. But even in the rubber forests his associates have been fellow Indians, of foreign tribes, to be sure, but to this experience the Indian has been well accustomed. As for the white employer, he is often less a carrier of European culture than he is a frontiersman, a distinct tropical forest product himself. He is partly Indianized and he is generally the husband of an Indian wife.

Among the Mundurucú of central Brazil, as vividly described by Robert Murphy (1960), an anthropologist, work in the rubber forests and the contractual production of farinha, a manioc flour, for the white man were potent factors in the disruption, indeed in the virtual obliteration, of the native culture. To compare Mundurucú with Cubeo is to set off a society that has become ugly and disordered with its meager hoard of cheap objects of white manufacture with a well-ordered and fundamentally satisfying way of life. Unlike the Mundurucú, the Cubeo have succeeded in withstanding both the rubber forest and manioc trade. Far from being overcome, the Cubeo have been able to use the income from labor in the rubber forests and from the sale of farinha to further their own cultural objectives. Murphy tells of the insatiable longing of the Mundurucú for the trinkets and gadgets of the white trader. For these objects of intrin-

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177 182 [171] sically little value the Mundurucú yielded up much of their freedom and culture. Perhaps, in their case, the addiction to the white man's trinkets was already a sign of social disorganization, a substitute for the native values that had already been lost. The Cubeo, too, desired trinkets, but in moderation. Native ornaments were still preferred. As for household utensils, the Cubeo were spared the degradation of the five-gallon gasoline-tin water bucket and the flimsy metal pots. With only minor exceptions all native crafts were fully alive. What seems to have immunized the Cubeo against the pernicious effects of overtrade with the whites was the vigor of the social system, that demanded a heavy commitment of time and effort in the production of manioc beer for intersib gatherings, and the binding nature of ceremonial gift exchanges. When the basic patterns of Cubeo social life are broken they, too, will undoubtedly follow the miserable road of the Mundurucú, who once shared a common culture with them.

Throughout the region a first step in culture change is observable in dress and in housing. When the Indian takes to living in a small *mestizo*-style house and to wearing European-style clothing he has taken a long step toward cultural transformation. Dress and housing impress him as key signs of cultural identification. On the other hand, [342] when he acquires a steel machete, a shotgun, fishhooks, or ornaments [796] he usually does so to enrich his own way of life. The change in house [346] form is the more significant because the long maloca is not only a residence but a ceremonial center to which most of the traditional ceremonies have been adapted. These ceremonies cannot be easily conducted in the small square house. With respect to dress there are stages of acculturation. Nudity is a mark of total unself-consciousness. 177 As late as 1903 there were still sizable Indian populations in the upper 291 Vaupés and all over the Cuduiarí where the women were totally naked 182 and the men wore only the perineal band of dark bark cloth (Koch-Grünberg, 1909). In the first change that occurred, the women began to wear petticoats in the presence of white visitors. This concession to the white man's sensibilities involved no important change in outlook. It was, if anything, a reflection of traditional cosmopolitanism. Subsequently, the women accepted the petticoat as ornamental, wearing it constantly and dressing up in a fresh petticoat for native ceremonies. This is the present situation on the Cuduiarí and along much of the upper Vaupés. Those women whose outlook had become more Europeanized turned to the dress and to covering their breasts. Men's clothing styles followed a similar sequence. Most men who have worked in the rubber forests have acquired trousers and have learned to wear them when they visit the administrative center of Mitú. Some

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of land shortage. A social structure, to be sure, that facilitates fission by providing a place for each new segment within a phratry is well adapted to the ecology of rivers of the size of the Cuduiarí; but the adaptation may well be fortuitous. The Cubeo do not plan it that way.

Among the factors affecting community size the tradition of the maloca appears to be the most significant. Whatever the terrain, there it stands as a maximum dwelling for 16 households. It would be of value to study the distribution of such single-house communities to determine the conditions to which they may have been originally adapted. Giving, as they do, maximum occupancy for a minimum of space they seem well suited to the relatively cramped terrain of small rivers along a flood plain.

The problem the maloca poses for community growth may be put this way. A single maloca in the Cubeo view is an ideal community. As the community grows, the maloca is enlarged to its maximum size. Any further increase results in the construction of a small-size dwelling nearby. But now there are two social units of unequal size and the small unit stands apart. Its ultimate fate can be only reabsorption or further cleavage. The construction of equal-size small malocas only emphasizes fission more strongly. It would thus seem that while a tradition of small dwellings lends itself to expansion by aggregation, a tradition of unity based upon common residence under one roof must devise a new tradition if it is not to impose thereby a rigid limit to community size. In the Northwest Amazon region a tendency can be observed for one maloca to become a social and ceremonial center for scattered smaller groups who are themselves incomplete communities. Among Tucanoan- and Arawakan-speaking peoples in the region Koch-Grünberg often found such scattered small communities that identified themselves as belonging to a main maloca some distance away (1909, I, 58, 332, II, 21). But while a maloca may become a center for dispersed sibmen, who owe it nothing but an affiliation by sentiment, it cannot, in traditional Cubeo terms, become the center of a large community made up of many houses.

In this respect, however, native attitudes seem to be changing. The *Bahúkiwa* headman, for example, who was interested in adapting the life of the community toward the standards of the white man, described himself to me as *capitán y general*. He then added that he planned to have a community of many houses and he would be chief over them all. He used the term *habóhū*, which means a man of great influence, rather than the milder term *kenámi upáhū* (owner of the house). He was not the only one to speak this way. Elsewhere along

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THE ECONOMIC SYSTEM

The Cubeo economy may be characterized as essentially inelastic, sustenance-oriented, and egalitarian. In these respects it contrasts with parallel root horticulture economies in other parts of the world, such as in Oceania and Africa. In those areas economies are generally in the service of social status and of political power and are, consequently, dynamic, fostering social and economic inequality. Among the Cubeo, on the other hand, and in the South American tropical forest as a whole, social status is a minor issue in production, while the headman, who in Oceania and in Africa plays a commanding role in economic distribution, has here only the most diffuse economic functions.

The relative inelasticity of an economy is, needless to say, a function of many factors. In the case of tropical forest horticulture, the nature of crops, soils, methods of cultivation, and tools are all relevant. Even more significant, however, are such factors as the social organization of production, including such fundamental matters as the division of labor, as well as the nature of political controls. The motives of production are of greatest importance. Motives of status and of political power provide, all other factors being equal, for an expanding economy. When the aim of production is mainly to provide sustenance and to maintain a limited network of lateral (as opposed to hierarchical) exchanges the economy tends to remain in equilibrium with its customary standards of community size. Such an economy is conservative and traditionalistic.

With respect to physical factors, Cubeo manioc horticulture has come close to reaching a productive limit in terms of yield per acre. The yield from *Manihot utilissima* normally ranges from six to ten tons per acre. Among the *Bahúkiwa* I estimated the acreage yield to be between five and six tons, a productivity that reflects considerable agronomical skill and effort. Any substantial increase in aggregate production would have to come more from expanded acreage, for which the land is available, than from more intensive cultivation of present plots. Acreage expansion, however, is limited by a combination of social and cultural conditions as well as by the peculiar nature of bitter manioc itself. As is well known, the ease of cultivation of bitter manioc and its relatively high yield is offset by the great effort required to rid the tubers of hydrocyanic acid. I have already described the processing of manioc from raw tuber to a cake and its heavy demands on the time of the women. Bitter manioc is a cumbersome crop and the load of 50–60 pounds that a woman carries home from the garden represents her carrying capacity.

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There is much talk in the region about powerful chiefs, but no one has really seen one. In the past, the Indians say, there were chiefs over all the sibs along a river. Koch-Grünberg was told the same thing (1909, I, 264). One is also told that other people have powerful chiefs. I had no opportunity to investigate this, but Koch-Grünberg, who traversed all the main rivers in the region, was always told that the chiefs along another river were strong. The Desanas had only headmen, but they informed Koch-Grünberg that great chiefs ruled along the Papurý and Tiquié rivers. When he got there he found only headmen. If there has been a stronger political organization among the Cubeo in the past there is no suggestion of it now.

The fact is that leadership follows similar principles among all neighboring tribes from whom we have adequate information. Describing the Arawakan Siusi, Koch-Grünberg notes that the headmanship is a hereditary office, going from father to oldest son or to his younger brother. The headman himself passes on the office to someone in his line. His authority is minor and is concerned only with village affairs. It is based on the respect owed to age. The headman among the Siusi, he adds, is a representative, receiving guests and leading all community activities and discussions. He sees to it that the house is kept in order; and if he leaves for any length of time he turns the command over to his brother. He maintains order but he cannot punish. A headman who had long associated with the whites claimed authority over the entire river but no one took him seriously. Koch-Grünberg had the impression, however, that the oldest man in the maloca was the headman (1909, I, 68). This is not quite true among the Cubeo. The Cubeo respect age, but leadership, to repeat, depends upon ability to be a giver, so that a man who has gone too far past his prime is ordinarily ruled out as a headman.

LAW AND JUSTICE

With respect to the administration of justice and of order the headman is no magistrate. He is a mediator, a counselor, and often a persuasive advocate of his own views. It is the entire adult community that must reach a decison. The headman provides for orderly discussion until a decision is reached. Within the sib a primary objective of the headman's efforts is to smooth over difficulties, calm tempers, and restore the atmosphere of congeniality. There are, however, serious breaches of the peace, such as sorcery, persistent adultery, chronic and malicious theft of food, and murder when punishment is called for. In such cases the aim of the headman is not to calm

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832 The Cubeo women are sexually forward, a trait that seems to be
562 common in the Amazon Basin. Women become more licentious with
age. Older women, those around the menopausal age, urge men to
• [171] have coitus with them, remarking jokingly, "We are more satisfying
than young girls because we have more sexual power [appetite]."
Adultery, as I have already observed, seems common, and it is ordinarily assumed or charged that it is the woman who seduced the man. A married woman shows sexual interest in a man by grasping his genitals or by conveying his hand to hers. Unmarried women are less direct. Such women, however, are scornfully called *aménko* (shameless woman). I was surprised to hear an angry woman address her openly flirtatious daughter-in-law as *yavímiko* (bitch). Although flirtatiously forward, women prefer to be vigorously subdued before accepting coitus.

831 The alligator or cayman is the Cubeo symbol of male lechery. Ac-
825 cording to one folk tale, the cayman was once a man. The wife of
773 *Kúwai*, who was the daughter of *Munyúnbekúku* (an Ancient), was sleeping in her hammock. *Kúwai* sent Cayman into the house to fetch a light for a cigarette. Cayman wanted to copulate with the wife of *Kúwai*. She would not let him. He mounted her, nevertheless, and she ate up the entire front of his stomach, as well as his penis. When *Kúwai* saw this he said to Cayman, "I warned you this would happen." Then *Kúwai* took a square mat and with it mended the front of Cayman. Then he threw Cayman into the water with the remark, "You shall always be eaten."

831 In view of the reputation for licentiousness that the Cubeo women
826 have, it is interesting that they attribute the growth of pubic hair on
[833] a woman to frequency of coitus. At the same time, pubic hair on a
[302] woman is regarded as unsightly. Women, accordingly, go to much trouble and pain to depilate the pubic region. Older women allow the hair to grow. In jest an old woman may say to a man, "You may take my pubic hair and smoke it in a cigarette."[4] The sexual allusion
833 is well understood.

826 Cubeo mythology identifies copulation with female pubic hair.
773 *Kúwai*, the culture hero, was the first to plant a hair from his head upon the *mons* of his wife. He then copulated with her for the first time, asking a small boy to watch and learn how it is done.

291 In the recent past, Cubeo women wore no pubic covering, but men
178 always did. Now that women have become accustomed to skirts, depilation is no longer important. It persists, nevertheless.
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[4] The Cubeo associate hair and tobacco. Hair is *pud*, and armpit hair is *pud buiri* (literally, hair tobacco).

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the Ancients. In the naming and in the mourning ceremonies specific ancestors are invoked by name and by specific kinship reference, as the mother or the grandmother of the sib. In the case of postcoital connubial bathing the ancestors are not invoked either by name or by spell; the bathers merely participate in their magical presence in the river. Some cult activities are secret, others are not. The rule of secrecy applies to the flutes and trumpets. These bear the names of ancestors and may not be seen by women. However, whenever these instruments appear, a specific ceremonial role is assigned to the women. In the whipping rites, which are also initiation rites for boys, the women receive gifts of fruits and berries in the name of the Ancients. In the mourning rites the ancestor trumpets sound their notes of grief, to which the women respond with wailing of their own. That is, when the Ancients enter the maloca they naturally establish a relationship with the women of the house. On the other hand, when the Ancients' blessings are invoked, but without the ancestral presence, the women have no part in the proceedings. The women are ignored during the naming ceremony and during the recitation of the sib mythology. Basically, the ancestral cult belongs to the men. When the boys are shown the hiding place of the flutes and trumpets and are taught their names they are being initiated into a male cult and are drawn fully, thereby, into their roles as sibmen. The social function of the initiation is twofold: to complete the separation of the boy from his mother and align him with his father and his father's brothers, and to draw him from the immaturity of the play pack into the mature company of men. We may speak of these rites, therefore, as *rites de passage* as well, bearing in mind, however, that the passage is a long and gradual one. The Cubeo emphasis with respect to the development of the male is not that he suddenly crosses a dividing line from boyhood to manhood but that he grows. The magic of the initiation ceremony is a magic of growth. Growth magic, it will be recalled, occurs at three stages in a boy's development: at birth, after a year when he receives his name, and then for a series of years after he has entered the play pack.

For a fuller understanding of the Cubeo cult of *Bekûpwänuw* one would need to know more about corresponding ceremonies among neighboring tribes. Curiously, no other ancestral cult has been reported for the entire Northwest Amazon. Koch-Grünberg, whose knowledge of the tribes of the region extended over many years, did not mention any ancestral doctrines even though he had lived for several months with the *Hehénewa* on the Cuduiarí. But like others who have studied this region his investigations were surely led astray

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by that ubiquitous and meaningless term *yurupari*, lingua franca and Tupian for "devil," "spirits," "sacred," "mystery," and the like.[2] The Indians have learned to satisfy all foreign curiosity about their sacred practices by uttering the impressive word *yurupari*. All rites involving the use of the sacred and taboo-to-women, trumpets and flutes, have been invariably described in the literature as *yurupari*. We cannot assume, however, that because these instruments are ancestral embodiments among the Cubeo that they are so among all other tribes who use them. One of the striking characteristics of the entire Amazon drainage is the ready way in which form and content separate and recombine in new ways. It has been reported that among the Arawakan tribes in the region the flutes and trumpets represent the spirit of *Kúwai* (*Kúwai*), the tribal culture hero (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, I, 187). On the Orinoco, von Humboldt (1852, II, 363) found a cult of sacred trumpets associated with the fertility of fruits and berries. The plant fertility aspect of the instruments is well-nigh universal in the region, suggesting that this may have been the oldest association. Among the Cubeo, too, the whipping ceremonies are quite explicitly associated with the harvest of fruits and berries during the short summer season. Among the neighboring Tucano Indians, where sacred horns are used in the initiation of young boys, the instruments all have animal names, such as armadillo, paca, and agouti, as well as a little bird. They are reported to be known as tamed animals, but there is no reference in this report to an ancestral cult (Ypiringa Monteiro, 1960).

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As for the Cubeo ancestral features, it may be reasonable to suppose we are dealing with an Andean culture trait that has diffused eastward into the rain forest. Ancestors are prominent in the religions of the Chibchan-speaking Gágaba (Park, 1936), in northern Colombia, and, southwest of the Cubeo, among the Witoto Indians (Preuss, 1921–23; Whiffen, 1915; Steward, 1948), with whom the Cubeo show remarkably close affiliation. Among the Cubeo, we may speculate, a fusion has occurred between an early ancestral cult and a series of other culture elements such as harvest festivals, cultic whipping, male puberty rites, and a secret men's cult in which spirits taboo to women are represented by musical instruments. As will be seen in a later chapter, a similar fusion seems to have occurred among elements making up the complex mourning ceremonies.

Among the *Bahúkiwa* there are five pairs of musical instruments

[2] Actually Koch-Grünberg (1915–16) does give a native term for "*yurupari* dance" (*bekeboikelehapuive*, which has the meaning of "festival of the Ancients"), but he apparently attached no significance to the term.

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An ordinary drinking party lasts from late afternoon until dawn of the following day. During this time only children will be fed or will sleep. With hammocks and cooking utensils out of the way the maloca yields up its everyday character and is exclusively a dance hall, in a sense a ceremonial center.

At the height of the festivities sibs are all intermixed. But this mixing happens slowly. Earlier in the evening sibmates have bunched together. One has the impression that one of the "functions" of the drinking party is to break down, temporarily at least, the excessive autonomy of the individual sibs. At big drinking parties the men of the visiting sib arrive armed with loaded shotguns, as in the past they came armed with lances. The armament symbolizes the autonomy and the latent hostility of the separate sibs. When the men are armed, the transition from separateness to mixing is more dramatic because then the sight of bunches of armed men crouched with their rifles between their knees conveys, as it is intended to, an atmosphere of menace. At the end they have put their arms away for the fellowship of drink and dancing. Women, however, are fearful that after the men have begun their usual drunken brawling they will use their weapons. I never saw this happen although several women assured me that drunken shootings were common enough.

The chicha is kept at the rear of the house in great pottery jars, in great drumlike wooden tubs as big as canoes, and in canoes that have been scrubbed clean for this purpose. The quantity that is always prepared is intended to be prodigious. It will call for very active drinking on the part of all, men, women, and in a playful way by children, for the last of it to be consumed by dawn. The saying is: "No one leaves until the chicha is all gone," and the male guests gayly promise to drink "until we vomit." The hosts ply the guests mercilessly with chicha, hunting them down in the dark corners of the house, waiting for them to leave a dance formation, good-naturedly pushing them if they are asleep or more likely pretending to be asleep. After a time, the groan of a guest who sees the pursuing calabash thrust at him again is genuine enough. Women will serve chicha but it is properly a man's chore. Only the men are aggressive servers.

Among neighboring Tucanoan-speaking as well as Arawakan tribes chicha is served ceremoniously, the bearers of the calabashes dancing toward the guests in single file, crouching, knees raised high to chest. They weave in a snake dance and utter monosyllables such as *ma ma ma* or *tsa ha ha ha*, and conclude with a piercing *he he he*. The Cubeo do this when they serve the sacred drug *mihí* but I never saw them serve chicha in this manner.

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saw them serve chicha in this manner. The Cubeo offer the calabash with a jest: "Drink quickly so that you may be drunk soon." The aim of the drinking party is to achieve an intense state of excitement and to maintain that until overcome by sheer fatigue and sleep. 574 Tobacco, coca, and *mihí* supplement drinking to intensify and 273 hasten the reaction. When *mihí* is taken, producing color visions and 276 finally a blackout, the Indians say, "Now we shall get drunk quickly." [825] *Mihí* is associated with *miwa* (birds), which are the patrons of ecstatic intoxication.[1] Drunkenness is not to be avoided. If a little boy gets drunk his father is proud of his precociousness. Women, however, are not expected to get drunk and they rarely do.

574 *Mihí* is not taken at every drinking party but only at those that 276 are considered very important. At the mourning festival (*óyne*) a [249] great quantity is consumed. The narcotic plants (*Banisteriopsis caapi* and others) from which *mihí* is prepared are cultivated by the [171] men only and they alone drink it. The Cubeo regard it as a sacred drug, and from all indications it is so regarded throughout the Western Amazon region where it is used. Along the Orinoco the Indians chew the skin, but all along the Vaupés an infusion is prepared by boiling the leaves, bark, and roots to form a greenish-brown "soup" that is strongly bitter. The Cubeo prepare several varieties that are graded according to potency. Upon truly solemn occasions they begin with a mild infusion from the leaf of a variety that is taken exactly at midday, and conclude with a very strong variety just before sunset. This sequence of *mihí* transports a man from vague and mild visions of whiteness to intense hallucinatory experiences, bursts of violence, and finally loss of consciousness. *Mihí* almost invariably causes vomiting, and for that reason alone each man must take many servings. For each type of *mihí* there are four servings taken from a small gourd dipper. The first service is of two dippers, the second of one, and the third and fourth of two each. At the beginning, the Indians say, the vision becomes blurred, things begin to look white, and one begins to lose the faculty of speech. The white vision turns to red. One Indian described it as a room spinning with red feathers. This passes and one begins to see people in the bright coloring of the jaguar. When the final strong forms of *mihí* are taken the hallucinations begin to assume a disturbing and fearful form. One becomes aware of violent people milling about, shouting, weeping, threatening to kill. One is seized with the fear that he no longer has a home. The house posts and trees come alive and take the form of people.

[1] There is also a bird called *mihíkõ*.

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Koch-Grünberg has observed this dance among neighboring Tucanoans as well as among Arawakan-speaking tribes. He observed it as a courting dance, boys and girls leaving the house after a dance and disappearing into the surrounding darkness (1909, I, 293, II 272). There is no mistaking the erotic undertones of this dance among the Cubeo. But it cannot ordinarily be a courting dance since the participants are normally sibmates and phratry mates if unmarried. The first girls to join the dancers are, in fact, their sisters. But as the evening wears on, the erotic character of the dance emerges in a dangerous form. An unmarried girl too often chooses to thrust herself beneath the arms of her sister's husband, a married woman "chooses" a husband's brother. What is ordinary courtship in tribes that bring together potential marriage mates at their drinking parties is largely adultery or the threat of adultery among the Cubeo, who entertain within the exogamous circle. I suspect that in the case of the Cubeo, simple courtship dances have become embroiled in a changing social order that has gradually built up a phratric system out of independent exogamous local groups. In the process the dance has lost its innocence.

The dancing has a deceptively decorous appearance. As the girls insert themselves between two male dancers, under the arm of one, the men never pause, turn their heads, or change expression. The girl puts her right arm lightly around her partner's waist. She holds her left hand before her, at her skirt. Crouched beneath the yoke

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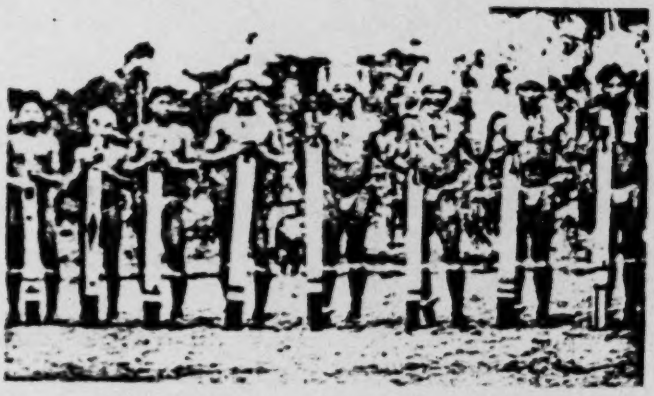

Fig. 10. *Hehénewa* men in full dancing costume.

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masks are generically known. Koch-Grünberg (1906a) has argued that they are sacred, citing as evidence that after the ceremonies the masks are burned. Many masks, however, are spared at the insistence of children who wish to play with them, and some masks are spared and used as storage sacks. Sanctity, I would say, is attached to individual masks, and is the sanctity of the being represented and not of the mask itself. Women, it is true, do not handle the masks, not out of taboo but rather out of the feeling that the masks are in the masculine domain. The masks represent spirits who are called generically *takahédekokü* (bark-cloth spirits). These spirits are visible only to the shaman.[3] All masks have a common basic shape, a large triangular sack that fits over the head and covers the body to the knees. Armpits are always cut out, and sleeves that come below the elbow are sewn in. The bottom of the skirt is stiffened with a circular hoop, and sleeves and skirt are hung with bark fringes. The masks have a head section, a middle section, and a bottom part. The head section is ordinarily painted with a face design that has eyes and a nose but not necessarily a mouth. Two eye holes and a nose hole are sometimes torn through for the wearer's convenience and do not correspond to the painted design. In some masks the head section is soft and in others it is surmounted by a calabash, painted brown or black, depicting a skull top; or the calabash itself has a face design painted on it and depicts, therefore, the face. The middle section is divided into several panels, half of them at the front and half at the rear. Each panel is painted in a geometric pattern that depicts the characteristic body features of the being that is to be represented. Fish, for example, have scale designs, and birds and flying insects wing designs. These designs are painted with great care by men who are particularly proficient. They follow traditional forms rather casually, however, each artist giving his own interpretation. The Cubeo do not quibble about the details of design. The fact is that no one can identify a particular representation with certainty without knowing who has made it. Only some of the masks, such as Jaguar, Butterfly, and *Abühuwa*, are distinctive enough to be immediately recognizable. These masks, incidentally, also seem to be the most important.

The use of ceremonial masks is common enough in South America, as Professor Alfred Métraux (1948) has observed, but we have as yet little information as to their meaning, nor do we know their full distribution. What is certain, though, is that masked cults have

[3] Koch-Grünberg (1905a) has observed that while the animal represented may be harmless, the spirit itself is magically powerful.

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different significances in different tribes. The Central Amazon is one center of distribution of ceremonial masks and the Northwest Amazon region is another. In the former region, masks are not of bark cloth but of palm leaves that cover the entire body. The headpieces with human features are cylindrical and of wood. According to Cubeo tradition, they, too, once used palm-leaf masks before being taught by *Kúwai* to prepare bark cloth. Karl von den Steinen, who collected many dance masks from the Xingú River region, never saw them used and guessed that they were mainly ornamental. As among the Cubeo, the Xingú region masks represent animals, beasts, and fish (Steinen, 1894). Along the Araguaia, a tributary of the Amazon, ceremonial masks seem to be part of a secret men's cult and, of particular interest to a Cubeo comparison, they are also used in funeral rites (Krause, 1910, p. 109; Lehmann, 1911). In both parts of the Central Amazon, the Xingú and the Araguaia, the dance songs that are associated with the masks are similar to those of the Cubeo and may have been brought there by Arawakan-speaking peoples who still live there. In the Vaupés River region all the Arawakan tribes share the masked dance cult with Tucanoans. However, among Tucanoan tribes, Uanana and Desana do not have them (Koch-Grünberg, 1909, II, 64).

To the west of the Cubeo, in northeast Peru for example, masked dances are, surprisingly, not found among the Tucanoan-speaking peoples but rather among the Witotoans, such as the so-called Witoto proper, the Bora, and the Muinave. In this same region the Yagua, the Okaina, and the Tucuna, all of whom speak as yet unidentified languages, also have bark-cloth masks (Tessmann, 1930). The nature of their masked dances is similar enough to those of the Cubeo to leave very little doubt that they are historically connected. The masks of these tribes represent animals and demons, as among the Cubeo, and are similarly decorated. However, nowhere in this region are bark-cloth masks used in connection with mourning rites. The Tucuna use masks in girls' puberty rites, while among the Bora masked dances accompany the harvest festival of the pupunha palm. This is a point of historical interest, since the Cubeo mourning ceremony is held during the season when the pupunha palm is ripened and has other "harvest rite" motifs. Because information on masked dances in the Amazon area is so limited, no firm conjecture can be made as to their place of origin. It would seem, though, that the Cubeo have taken ceremonies that in other tribes pertain to harvest festivals, secret men's cults, or girls' first menstrual rites, and have adapted them to funeral rites. Simi-

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sumed and at that moment the victim dies. The Arawakan tribes in the region call him *Alakálu* and regard him as the chief of the masked dancers. The *abúhuwa*, of which there are several types, are grotesque forest ogres, a menace to the hunter whom they lead astray, tease, or kill, and the bogy man of the children. It was not my impression that the *abúhuwa* were deeply feared. They represent, rather, a caricature of human fears. The dung beetles (*keratamóiwa*) are literally devourers and cleansers of decay. They are, as Koch-Grünberg observed, good spirits and guardians against dangers. The carrion vulture (*kavá*) is simply a literal representation. The aracú represent the ordinary world that is neither good nor bad.

The masked dances (*wahómu*: bark-cloth tree) are mimetic, each illustrating some distinctive gesture or movement of the being represented. The songs, on the other hand, are not readily translatable, but many do mention the name of the being. As for the masks themselves, they are recognizable either specifically or at least by class by such distinctive design motifs as wings, fish scales, feathers, and jaguar spots, as well as by characteristic features of over-all design. The intent is clearly to represent the being with some directness.

The jaguar masks have a design of yellow spots outlined in black and in red that covers the entire surface including the facepiece. In some masks the spots are distributed evenly and in others they are divided into fields. The jaguar sleeves are made of a coarse brown bark cloth that seems to be associated in the Cubeo mind, judging by how they use it, with more violent feelings, a point I shall deal with later. The jaguar dancers carry a jug whistle upon which they produce the deep *hoo hoo hoo* sound of the angry beast. The whistle is a short length of ambauva palm set into a pottery dish made expressly for the purpose. The pot is enveloped in brown bark thongs that cross the opening, where they are fastened to the whistle, thus allowing the instrument to be held with one hand. The entire pot is hung with bark fringes. The dancers move as a pair, sometimes holding hands and sometimes separately. As all dancers do, the Jaguars begin with a slow, stately walk, and then move into their characteristic movement. Legs held close, they spring forward and then back, sounding their booming *hoo*'s during the walking intervals. They follow a circular movement in either direction. The Jaguars have an important role in stirring the assembly, particularly the women, to the desired state of frenzy. They are almost always on the floor. They begin wild and are capable of increasingly more violent actions. The Jaguars are always men in their physical prime. At some time during the ceremonies all the mature and vigorous men will have

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danced the Jaguar. During the early part of the *óyne*, when proceedings are still orderly, the Jaguars and the Butterflies form an appropriate ensemble, the latter dancing in front of the Jaguars. Later a calculated disorder takes place. At this time the Jaguars tear the bark fastenings from their jug whistles and distribute the tough brown material to all the men to chew on so they may become "as strong and fierce as the jaguar." The jaguar song I collected is different from that recorded by Koch-Grünberg, but variations are common. Thus, when Koch-Grünberg saw the Jaguars among the *Hehénewa* they were not using jug whistles, while the Arawakan tribes were. The song I recorded was:

yavirárü yavirákü [repeated]
yavirárü maníka
yavirárü ya
ho ho ho o ho.

Like all mourning songs it had a slow rhythm and a hauntingly mournful tune. The Cubeo offered no translation. *Yavirákü* means "big jaguar," and *maníka* may mean "children."[8] Koch-Grünberg collected a similar jaguar song among the Arawakans on the Aiarí River, whereas the song he recorded among the Cubeo is curiously quite different and does not even include the descriptive name *yavi*. There is good reason to suspect that these songs are widely exchanged.

The mask of Butterfly (*Tatárako*) is marked by triangular wing designs. The headpiece, moreover, has attached to it winglike structures made of bark cloth stretched over a frame of splints. The headpiece, which, like the Jaguar, has no facial markings, is built up around basket work to give it a bulbous appearance and to identify it with caterpillars, beetle larvae, and the sloth. A mask photographed by Koch-Grünberg has, in addition, an antennae-like strip arching forward over the face. The Butterflies also dance in pairs, often holding hands. Each holds a calabash in one hand and a stick in the other with which he strikes the calabash violently. This gesture imitates that of the sorcerer striking the pot into which the butterfly will fall. Their characteristic step is to run forward quickly and then take several slow steps back like the flight of the butterfly. Sometimes they drop to their knees to imitate the creatures resting. The song I recorded had the refrain *kaviré kaviré* and is not the same as that recorded by Koch-Grünberg on the Aiarí.

Koch-Grünberg observed nine types of demons or ogres, including

[8] The Cubeo term for children is actually *mandwa*. The term *maníka* may be a song transformation. However, this translation is very uncertain.

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765
The first phase of the *óyne* concludes on the morning of the fourth 574
day. Despite the drinking and the exhaustion of frenzied dancing 576
the departures are as formal as the arrivals. The hosts form their line at the doorway and the guests pass along, exchanging final expressions of grief. Men embrace one another and weep. Women weep [152]
once more with women. Before he leaves the house, each man presents the host with the masks he has brought, including all its ornaments. Among the *Hehénewa* the men mimicked the lamentations of the guests after the last one had left, and all laughed.

765
One month later a concluding and simpler ceremony is held. On [535]
the first evening the masks dance again and the *Xudjíko* is sounded. [534]
At dawn the masks and their ornaments, as well as all the ceremonial paraphernalia made specifically for the *óyne* including the trumpets, are burned in a great fire on the front plaza. Not all the masks are destroyed, because the children are privileged to reclaim any they wish from the flames. The burning puts an end to the jurisdiction over the house of the spirit representations and officially concludes the mourning.

765
That evening the final dance is held. The house has now been re- 535
stored to a normal ceremonial state, and the dances of this evening include men and women. They dance the ordinary dances of the drinking parties and conclude with a great circle dance within the house that includes all men, women, and youngsters. This dance is known as *kompaindúwü* (going home). The dance forms on the plaza and circles about a fire in the center of the house, moving clockwise and then reversing. The men are fully ornamented and carry stamping tubes; a woman dances between two men. They sing a refrain, [533]
kenadjú marié kenadjú pimári. Periodically a woman dancer screams loudly in a high-pitched voice, breaking in upon the somber melody. 765
As this dance continues through the night, couples break away and 535
leave for the brush behind the house. They copulate, return to the 786
dance, and seek new sexual partners. At this point the dance has [831]
become chaotic. No overt sexuality, however, occurs within the house. These events conclude the social aspects of the *óyne*, and the 765
following morning, after the guests have begun to depart, is devoted 775
to dealing with the spirits of the dead. There are two events, the first 266
of which I was regrettably barred from observing. This may have 114
been the endocannibalism that Wallace reported in 1853[10] and that

[10] "The Tarianas and Tucanos and some other tribes, about a month after the funeral, disenter the corpse, which is then much decomposed, and put it in a great pan, or oven, over the fire, till all the volatile parts are driven off with a most horrible odor, leaving only a black carbonaceous mass, which is pounded into a 171 765 184 266

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765 775 266 114 Koch-Grünberg had described to him in 1903 (1909, II, 152). I observed the *Hehénewa* headman, with the older men of the sib around him, pounding bones in a mortar and adding the substance to an urn of chicha. When they saw me they angrily ordered me away. Later, informants denied knowledge of what they may have been doing. Koch-Grünberg, however, was told by the *Hehénewa* headman that the limb bones of someone who had died some 15 years earlier were cooked for about a month, reduced to ash, and then added to a special corn chicha which was then taken by all old men and women and by parents of more than three children. I did not observe the drinking of this chicha, nor did I hear of the custom during my stay among the *Bahúkiwa*.

765 824 783 775 Finally, the younger men of the sib burn dry capsicum peppers in the maloca to drive away the ghost of the recently deceased. Thereafter, the deceased is to be forgotten and his name not mentioned for at least another generation.

532 765 776 MASK REPRESENTATIONS IN THE *ÓYNE*

Anthropomorphic Beings or Demons

1.	*Makuko*	(K-G)[a]	A bearded dwarf, represented by husband and wife. They lure hunters from their game and pantomime shooting a bark-cloth monkey with a blowgun.
2.	*Kohako*	(K-G)	Husband and wife giants who carry clubs and strike down hunters with them.
3.	*Hailako*	(K-G)	A giant who carries two heavy clubs, one in each hand.
4.	*Palutxiko*	(K-G)	A giant.
5.	*Anauako*	(K-G)	A giant.
6.	*Abúhuwa*	(K-G;IG)[b]	Forest demons.
7.	*Hokoaboxoko*	(K-G)	Giant tree demons.

[a] Reported by Koch-Grünberg.
[b] Personal observations by the author.

171 184 266 765 fine powder and mixed in several large conches (vats made of hollow trees) of caxiri; this is drunk by the assembled company till all is finished; they believe that thus the virtues of the deceased will be transmitted to the drinkers" (Wallace, 1870, p. 498).

Endocannibalism has also been reported by Coudreau, who has observed that the Tucanos and Tarianas no longer follow this practice, which he attributed only to the Cubeo. "Ce ne sont plus aujourd'hui les Tarianas et les Tucanos qui boivent la cendre de leurs morts, comme le disait Wallace. Ce sont les seuls Cobbéwa. Les gens de cette peuplade enterrent leurs morts; puis, quand les chairs sont pourries, ils lavent les os, les dessèchent, les brûlent, les pilent et, dans les dabucuris, mêlent cette poudre, précieusement conservée, au cachiri avec lequel ils boivent, en s'enrivant, les cendres des leurs ancêtres dont ils s'incorporent ainsi toute l'energie. Cette étrange boisson leur procure des délices extatiques ou furieux" (Coudreau, 1886–87, II, 173).

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Apart from the Ancients there is *Kúwai*, who has been referred to here as a culture hero and as a transformer. He is not, as Koch-Grünberg called him, a "god." The Cubeo and the Arawakan tribes in the area share *Kúwai*. Among the Cubeo he is a mythical being who has long since withdrawn from any relationship with people by taking up a specific abode upon the high savannah. There are no rites involving *Kúwai* today, nor are there traditions that refer to any sacred relationship between the people and *Kúwai* in the past. *Kúwai* taught the Cubeo all their useful arts – fishing, cultivation, the making of all major implements. He instructed them in copulation. Illustrative of Cubeo attitudes toward the sexes is *Kúwai*'s constant difficulties with women – all human – and, by contrast, his orderly relations with Cubeo men. It was, as the legend narrates, his disappointments and frustrations in dealing with Cubeo women that led *Kúwai* to take up what is virtually a voluntary exile. *Kúwai* as transformer altered terrain features and created some smaller rivers. His role as creator is a limited one.

Some Indians did speak of a god whom they called *himénihinkũ* (my little soul). This god lives in the sky (*kavánu*) in a house with his wife. He accepts good people into his house and puts bad people in a house for dogs. There is *Uménahonkũ*, an Ancient, but *himénihinkũ* is evidently a Christian doctrine that has been badly understood by the Indians of the Cuduiarí, whose relations with missionaries have been very marginal at best. Those Indians who had missionary contact attributed *himénihinkũ* to Christian teaching and rejected the doctrine as alien to them. They scoffed, particularly at his role as a creator of the world and of man. A fundamental feature of Cubeo religious thought is its reluctance to grant broad and extraordinary powers to any being. I shall return to this point.

Earlier writers on the Indians of the Vaupés have without exception reported "gods," "demons," or a "great spirit" called *Yurupari*. In simple fact there is no *Yurupari*. The term is jargon from the trade language of the Amazon based heavily upon Tupían and is used indiscriminately by the Indians to refer to anything that is sacred and taboo. In the Northwest Amazon region the sacred trumpets and flutes receive the designation of *yurupari* most commonly. But the people will put off any prying into their religion with *yurupari*. I never heard the *Bahúkiwa* refer to *yurupari* except when talking to some white man whose questions they did not regard seriously.

The ancestor beings represent for the Cubeo the only true beneficent "supernaturals" with whom they have relations. But we note that they are not credited with extraordinary powers. They do not

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home bleeding from his wounds and died. The people said that the jaguar had eaten the body and had returned only the *umé* for proper burial.

The shaman, whether *yavi* or *paridkokü*, chooses his calling. It does not choose him. There is nothing to suggest that the Cubeo shaman is an unstable personality in the way in which Siberian and many North American Indian shamans are. That is to say, among the Cubeo there is neither trance nor other form of "hysterical" behavior. The *yavi*, who cultivates the reputation of himself as a jaguar, is seemingly an aggressive antisocial type, in marked contrast to the favored Cubeo personality. I heard of only one woman who had become a shaman, and she was a transvestite who made such a nuisance of herself bothering women that the shamans who had prepared her stripped her of her powers. Any youth may become a shaman if he is accepted by the school of shamans, submits to the rigors of the novitiate, and passes an examination. As a young man he will not be a *yavi*. He becomes more malevolent and more dangerous with age. As an elder he finally acquires the power to appear as a jaguar.

The novitiate lasts from one month to five. None of my laymen informants could describe it in detail. The novitiate consists of four sections: abstinences, insertions of magical substances into the body, learning of songs and ritual, and examinations. The abstinences include sexual relations and the eating of fish, broiled game flesh, and, inexplicably, pineapple. One informant said that the novice, who is expected to become thin, lives on nothing but manioc and water.

The insertions described below are the actual sources of the shaman's power: (1) *duvalyo*, spines, the center stems of the leaf of the *amhókükü* tree, are softened and laid on the underside of the forearms until drawn in; (2) *hokúwe*, another spine, is inserted in the chest and in the palms of the hands; (3) *kenddox*, crystals of quartz, are inserted into the stomach; (4) *kwitóbo*, eagle feathers, are inserted up the nostrils to lodge in the head; (5) *dúpa*, the resin of the *amhókükü* tree, is powdered and inhaled to lodge in the heart;[4] (6) *kúria*, another snuff made from the bark of the *kuridkü* tree, is inhaled and produces a narcotic effect. My notes are not clear on whether *kúria* remains permanently in the body or is taken only for the narcotic effect. The *duvalyo*, the *hokúwe*, and the *kenddox* later serve the shaman as his own weapons to use against other shamans and to shoot into the body of a victim.

After the insertions have been made, the novice is taught songs

[4] Koch-Grünberg's information was that *dúpa* was a white stone, excrement of a great mythical eagle. However, I was given a piece of *dúpa* and it is a resin.

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The river anaconda is angered at newborn children and at menstruating women but not at any particular child or woman. The anger of spirits is, finally, direct. Men are always suspected of conspiring, but nonhuman spirits never do.

Finally, Cubeo religion includes a concept of inanimate power, of power resident in substances, places, and personal states of being. I found no articulate Cubeo theory as to inanimate power. *Parúkũ* is clearly personalized power and *parié* is limited in its applicability to objects intimately associated with the Ancients, the flutes and trumpets in particular. But clearly there is power in pigments, feathers, animal bones, plants, the toenail of the armadillo (which the medicine man uses to bring rain), human hair, leg ligatures, and a host of ceremonial objects. With respect to these substances it is clear that we are dealing with assorted beliefs and practices that are both old and widespread throughout the tropical forests of South America, not to mention beliefs that are close to universal.

Genipa (*vei*) is the most potent pigment. It is applied to the hands and feet as gloves and socks and is run coarsely down the back to create a deliberately crude covering rather than a design. The Cubeo are sensitive to neatly executed designs and normally take great pains with body painting, using special sticks as well as die rollers to stamp a design. The crudeness of genipa painting is to differentiate it from body decoration and to emphasize its purely magical character. Men do use genipa paint, but it is primarily a protective pigment for women and children. A menstruating woman will always coat her back with genipa as a safeguard against animal spirits. She will coat her hands with it when handling sacred substances such as coca and tobacco. Applied to infants, genipa wards off influences that might impede growth. Women say only that genipa is good for the skin, but this is typical evasiveness.

Red pigment (*monhá*) has more of a decorative function. It is applied by men and women with great care. Applied in spots it is jaguar magic to protect infants, and applied crudely it is a protection of sorts against the *yavi*.

It was never clear to me whether the love charm *pedidya*, a blossom worn in the hair, was intended to work by magic or merely by suggestion. The most effective love potions, carefully safeguarded by the women even against the prying anthropologist, are secret and magical.

Among ceremonial objects the *behórũ* is a rattle lance some three meters long with a hollow chamber at the top in which pebbles have been placed. It can bring rain, one informant said, but it was not used by the Cubeo for that purpose.

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152 model, that underlies an important aspect of the Cubeo ethos.
796 What is surprising about finding coitus as a model for ritual ethos is
181 not that this obvious pattern has been drawn upon, but that it is not
831 drawn upon more often. Among the Carajá of central Brazil, I am
171 informed, the coital ritual pattern is explicitly recognized, each phase of the dance being named from a phase of sexual intercourse.[3] It is quite possible that I simply failed to discover the same explicit rela-
571 tionship among the Cubeo. The explicitness that I did discover,
796 though, is in their assertion that ritual excitement, whether produced
181 by drugs, alcohol, or the ritualization of sex, is a necessary comple-
152 ment to the ritual magic of the below-the-knee ligature of long life. This identification of emotional intensity with life itself is also an obvious and therefore a simple relationship. In sum, we can say that the main features of Cubeo ethos draw upon very obvious and simple biopsychological models and – this is the significant point – adhere rather closely, almost literally, to them. Since the social pattern also draws upon a very elementary model we must conclude that the socio-cultural pattern as a whole is built upon the simplest of social and biopsychological models. Needless to say, even the bare and incomplete account of Cubeo life that has been presented suggests that the elements of over-all pattern described here do not encompass the "totality" of the culture. In all probability, however, no concept of pattern can ever encompass a total social and cultural system. From the point of view of culture theory the question is a different one. The proper question is: Does the theory of pattern provide an adequate approach to an understanding of the culture?

121 We can attempt to answer this question by applying the concept
571 of pattern that has been presented to an analysis of two fundamental cultural problems: the problem of social homeostasis and the problem of ecological adaptation. Strictly speaking, equilibrium and adaptation are one problem. It is simply that this problem can be approached from two sides.

SOCIAL HOMEOSTASIS

The assumption of social homeostasis is that a cultural system consists of relationships and interactions that are so patterned that their net effect is to perpetuate the system, generation after generation. It is understood, of course, that homeostasis, or equilibrium, is a relative condition only, since no society today is a precise duplicate of

[3] Personal communication from Dr. William Lipkind.

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123 622 the *bréo* flame taking coca with two other men. He is silent and has offered little real assistance; I wonder whether he resents our presence here.'

It did seem at times as though Kuarumey resented our presence, and he later had some cause for his suspicions – certainly in his own mind – when events took an unexpected turn. He was a striking man, tall and rather gaunt, with a proud almost arrogant manner. There was no doubt as to who was the head of the *maloca*, nor that we were visitors, fortunate to have his hospitality. We saw little of him during the daytime and it was some time before we learnt he was making a canoe some distance away in the forest.

501 Though the Tukano travel through the forest on hunting expeditions, canoes are used to go further afield, to fish or to trade with other groups. They are a river people as much as a forest people, and like many Amazonian tribes they have evolved their own methods of making canoes.

[171] The Noanamá, we found, dug out and shaped their canoes from solid wood, and it was necessary for them to find very large trees to do this. Many tribes of the southern Amazon use the bark of a tree, like the North American Indian, while some groups of the Guahibo and the Maku living in areas remote from the larger rivers do not use canoes at all. The Tukano, however, shape their canoes by a process of heat-warping.

A tree – a hard type of cedar – had first been felled, then a twenty-foot section was cut and barked, and allowed to lie for several weeks, before [293] Kuarumey started to cut the wood. Each day he went to the clearing, setting up a palm frond to shade himself when the midday sun broke into the clearing, through the gap in the trees overhead.

[412] Using his *azador*, a curved hoe-like blade, and a long stick with a sharp metal end, he first shaped the outside of the log, scraping off the bark. Then he made holes along its length and began to cut out the centre. It was hard work and he would often break off to make himself a cheroot, using the rolled leaf of a palm, while his eldest son continued the work. Once he disappeared in the jungle to set a monkey trap, a ring-snare high in a tree with fruit as the bait.

[224] He worked carefully, feeling the sides of the canoe so as not to make the shell too thin. After several days it was ready, braced with two small stumps to prevent the sides from closing. Then Kuarumey and several Indians from the *maloca* dragged the hull along the forest paths to the river bank nearly a mile away.

Now the canoe was ready to be warped by burning. This could be undertaken only at certain times of the year when there was no risk of rain, for [412] water on the hot wood might split it. Before they obtained iron and steel the Indians used to cut the trees with their stone axes. They would only partly shape the hull and burn out the centre with fire. Now, with the canoe already shaped, the burning was quicker and it would be completed within a day.

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partly explained by the environment in which they live – has resulted in the small unconnected settlements typical of the Indians of this region.

A headman is responsible for the provision and organization of the household. He arranges the building of the great *malocas* when it is necessary to move. He also oversees festivals and councils. In some households his actual power appeared to be slight, and it seemed to us that the average Tukano did more or less exactly as he pleased.

In the event of a headman dying, a festival is normally held in his honour after the burial. A new headman is then elected, usually the eldest son of the chief, though this decision depends on the council of elders of the household.

If the headman is the secular authority, the shaman is responsible as a spiritual one, in that he is always counteracting the influence of the evil spirits. He also cures the sick and diseased and in the event of death names the person responsible, so that revenge may be exacted. Living in a world apart, he keeps somewhat aloof from his fellow tribesmen and to enhance this sense of separation he may wear distinguishing marks.

Tukano families are small, there are seldom more than two or three children. Why more do not survive is difficult to explain, but life in the Amazonian forest is rigorous and the Indian believes that if a child cannot stand hardship at the moment of birth, it will not be able to stand that of later life. The normal custom of washing the new-born child in a stream is sometimes fatal. Moreover, should the child have any blemish or disfiguration – signs of evil to the Indians – it is all too easy for the mother to hold the infant beneath the water till it drowns. Should she have twins, this will also be the fate of the second-born, or it will be left in the forest to die. For to have more than one child at a time is to be like the animals of the forest – a terrible disgrace. In some *malocas* a dearth of children was very noticeable, especially in the lower areas of the river where the *caucheros* had greater influence.

The children assume adult responsibilities at a very early age. When we were waiting in the deserted *maloca* we noticed a small thatched shelter close to the women's entrance. It was bare and empty, and Horacio told us that this was probably a menstrual hut. They were common among the tribes in the Llanos and the women also retired to them during childbirth. Perhaps the Tukano had the same custom, but we learnt no more.

We saw no puberty rites though we did hear of a ceremony called Jurupari[1]. At certain seasons in the year the men leave for the forest to collect baskets full of chrysalises, *mojojoy*. When the women hear the men returning to the *maloca* they run screaming to the nearest plantation. Here they remain while the ceremony takes place, for they believe that the men have brought Jurupari, their god, with them, and if they or their children should see him, they will die. The men play long seven-foot flutes. One of these trumpet-like

[1] Jurupari in fact seems to be '*lingua general*' for god – and is not peculiar to the Tukano.

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Epilogue

1. COLOMBIAN KALEIDOSCOPE

It was July before we left the Motilon. Nearly ten months had passed since we first set out. We had visited four Indian tribes, each for a few weeks, and had had a glimpse at a fifth. Now it seemed time to take stock, not only of what was left to do, but of what had already been done. What in fact had been done? All our experiences seemed fragmentary, superficial. We had a veritable kaleidoscope of memories of Indians – impressions, no more.

Perhaps it would have been better to have lived with one tribe during those ten months and learnt more about them. But then we would have defeated our purpose which was to record the music of several tribes. Had we lingered with one group we should never have completed the whole. This was always our dilemma. But what could we have gained by staying longer? None of us, with the exception of Nestor, was academically qualified to study an Indian tribe, and to our misfortune he could come on only two of our journeys. What were we then? Perhaps we could have called ourselves adventurers or explorers, but these names are anachronisms in the twentieth century. Perhaps we were just travellers, human beings trying to catch a glimpse of another kind of man, the South American Indian, that strange perceptive being who is fast disappearing off the face of the earth.

What surprised us most was the diversity of these Indians. One tends to think all Indians alike, living in primeval forest, wearing barkcloth and covered in paint. But every Indian we met was very much an individual personality. Some were gay, others sad, some shy, others aggressive, tall, short and fat, fine-looking and ugly; taken as a whole one might describe them as introspective, reserved and very independent.

Like the individual, the tribes also were diverse, each one to a greater or lesser extent influenced by its environment – Noanamá, Tukano, Kogi and Motilon, and also Guajiro, though of these last our impressions were as fleeting as our days among them were few.

The four tribes could be more simply classified by grouping the Noanamá and Tukano together. They were living under fairly similar conditions, those of the tropical forest. Their fishing and hunting existence was in many respects alike, as was much of their material culture. Moreover, in the social sense, both tribes showed an absence of any central authority or chieftain;

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171 105 the only authority lay with the heads of the houses, and the considerable but not excessive influence of the shaman. In addition, the family groupings within the scattered forest *malocas* and waterside stilted houses, in the ceremonies and, to a lesser extent, their art and music, all seemed to show a certain relationship.

They recognized a supreme being. He had little effect on their everyday lives, he was something remote but nevertheless present. What the Tukano called him we never knew – he may have been Jurupari; to the Noanamá he was Evandama. There were also the spirits of the forest and the ancestors. To them Severiano sang his Canta Haí, to them the Tukano shaman chanted during the festival on the Piraparaná. There was the custom among Noanamá boys and girls of putting flowers in their hair and in the holes bored in their ears, which prompted Nestor to remark that they were almost Polynesian, and we found later that the Tukano had the same habit.

There were differences too: the partly sedentary cultivation of the Noanamá and their dependence on maize, compared with the shifting agriculture of the Tukano and their staple of manioc. There were differences in craftsmanship and design: pottery, basket weaving and the methods of making canoes, to mention but a few.

But what does all this tell us? Here were two peo[illegible]g six hundred miles apart, divided by the high Andes. It only tells us that at some time in the past there was a contact, perhaps a migration, or even that they formed one major group which was divided by the Chibcha advance.

The Motilon and Kogi – and this includes the Bintukua – were essentially highland dwellers, the one living in the lower 'cloud forest', the other in the high savannah tundra. The most noticeable thing about them was that they wore clothes; the Motilon a long cloak reaching to his ankles, the Kogi a jerkin, trousers and a sash. They had developed the use of the loom and wove cotton, *fiqué* sisal and even wool, unlike the forest dwellers who would still have gone naked or worn barkcloth but for the influx of trade cotton. Moreover, they rarely used body paint. We only once saw a Motilon painting his face – which they do when they go to war.

Perhaps their most distinctive feature is that, unlike the tropical forest dwellers, they live in small settlements and villages: the wattle-walled houses of the Sierra de Perijá with the surrounding barricade as a defence against the depredations of wild animals and warlike neighbours, and the small, round, wattle-and-daub temples and houses of the high Sierra Nevada.

It has been said of the Amazonian Indian: 'One word from the chief and everyone does exactly as he pleases.' This is a dictum which could apply equally to the Tukano or the Noanamá. In a way this lack of authority, this

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Guajiro women take in water from Rigtender.
[See p. 178-A]

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nonchalance seems to add to their charm, it makes life a little happy-go-lucky. But not so with the highlanders. Here one senses authority and a martial spirit, particularly among the Motilon who were always itching for a fight; frustrated perhaps at being unable to fight other groups, they resorted to fighting amongst themselves, always clutching their sheaves of arrows and twanging their bowstrings in anger. Here – and among the Kogi too – we found aggressiveness; underneath they were still the same humorous, perceptive people, but outwardly they wore an air of purposefulness, as if life had become a serious matter. To the Kogi life had become more than that; they had a duty to live by the rules of their priests. This was the wish of their mother goddess Nabulwé, the supreme power in their lives. It seemed to us at the time that a Kogi set down beside a Tukano would have found him as alien to his conception of a human being as we ourselves were; yet both are Indians.

The most primitive of all South American Indians is the wandering nomadic Maku, still to be found in the isolated depths of the Amazon forests, living solely on what he can gather with a stone axe as his only implement. He still represents Stone Age man. At the other end of the scale is the monotheistic Kogi, the nearest present-day equivalent we saw to the highest state of culture the Indian has reached. Between these extremes are such tribes as the Tukano, Noanamá and Motilon, each in a sense representing a different stage in development.

On the one hand are cultural traits which denote common origin or the influence of early migrations. On the other hand is the diversity representing stages of social development which were still evolving at the time of the Spanish conquest and which since then have each, in varying degrees and at different times, been subjected to a completely new force – European culture in all its complexity.

And how did the different tribes react to this influence? Generally speaking, the forest lowlanders like the Tukano have survived longer because of their remoteness. Yet when a contact is made the shock is great and their lack of cohesion may lead to rapid extinction.

The highlander, who in most instances has been in contact with the European for centuries, has – perhaps because of the greater cohesion imposed by the Kogi priests and the Motilon chiefs – either wholly resisted or adapted himself to the new influence in such a way that much of his own culture is incorporated in the new, as has happened in Atanquez, and indeed in the case of countless thousands who in the past four and a half centuries have become fully integrated into a European society.

There are very few places left in the world where the notion of Western

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Ortelia, Kechenko's sister. [see p. 178-B]

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105 culture is unknown. There may still be one or two isolated hill tribes in New Guinea; and wandering-nomadic groups of foresters like the Amazonian Maku. The Tukano certainly were not isolated in this sense. Some of them had had direct contact with the rubber collectors of the early part of the century, and many of them today still tap rubber. It is possible that the obvious signs of depopulation among the people of the Piraparaná are due to this yearly migration of the younger men. Essentially, however, they remain simple uncomplicated people believing in an amazing world of spirits and demons and quite happy in that belief; taking part in their festivals with great gusto, extremely creative with their beautiful head-dresses, woven baskets and pottery, to mention but a few of their artefacts, and delighting in their music. Perhaps we influenced them unduly in this last respect. Perhaps when we left, the panpipes were put back on their neglected wall. But this is unlikely.

Nor were the Noanamá completely isolated. Among them one felt a growing conflict between the negro settlers and the Indian. We recalled an argument between Severiano and an old negro: in a rage Severiano had shouted, 'Respect me!' Perhaps the negro's cheerful arrogance infuriated the Indian more than the taking of his land. Then there was the Mission. We had seen Severiano calling to the ancestors with his Canta Haí sticks in front of him, facing a lighted candle under an image of the Virgin Mary. The Indians were gradually disappearing from the San Juan and moving northwards to Panama, in a pathetic attempt to continue the only way of life they knew.

But the Motilon were different, and the Kunuguasaya had adopted an openly hostile attitude towards all intruders. To this day they remain, like the Maku, almost unknown – but not because of inaccessibility or remoteness. The Yuco-Chaké, however, whom we visited, though still extremely warlike among themselves, are not so much under the influences of *colono* expansion from the plains as of the work of the missionaries.

000 If only in the past the missionaries could have concentrated less on the outlawing of those aspects of tribal life which constituted the very basis, the very roots of Indian existence – their spiritual and ceremonial life, which ran completely contrary to the teaching of Christianity. If only they could have restrained their overwhelming zealousness to eradicate these and tried to understand them and show tolerance instead. Then the inevitable shock to the Indians would have been less – of losing their own beliefs in the face of a religion apparently far more terrible, one that involved only one alternative to eternal damnation and hell, which was so totally at variance with their own charming optimism for a better life to come. This was followed by a second more lasting shock, the realization that few but missionaries really practised this faith – and to the Indian religion was part of his being. Then their despair and disillusion could have been softened.

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437 would be carefully inspected by Indians we met later, who would disregard them if they considered them inferior work.

533 Sometimes we would play music we had recorded in the Amazon to see what the highlanders' reaction was. Then we would play classical music
• 171 or jazz. Usually a simple tune or one with a distinct rhythm conveyed something to them. There was some interest in Bach or Mozart, but none in Brahms. As for their own music, once we had shown our interest or they had heard the play-back on the recording machine, they all – with the exception of the Kogi – would play to us for hours, and the range of sounds and instruments was astonishing.

Astonishing, too, was the realization that an Indian besides being a cultivator, a hunter, a fisherman, a boat-maker and house-builder, besides knowing the tribal legends and myths and the arts of basket weaving, wood carving and design, was also a musician, not only playing but himself making, with considerable skill, a wide range of musical instruments.

534 Among the Tukano alone we counted fifteen such instruments. A jingle-rattle is admittedly not very difficult to play, but it requires skill to make one and to design it so that each shell produces a certain note. A panpipe or a deer-bone flute may not be difficult to make, but it takes practice and determination to play one.

534 The Indian is deeply involved in the natural world about him, and just
778 as he incises on a calabash the representation of a beetle or a frog, he will try to imitate the calls of birds or the sounds of the forest. All his instruments
562 reflect this forest environment: snail and tortoise shells, deer-bones, nut-
171 shells and gourds. But his music is also deeply involved with myth and ritual. We found the giant *jurupari* flutes were never placed where women could see them. They were used during the ceremony to call their god. When the women heard the flutes, booming like alpine horns in the distance, they fled into the forest, not daring to return till the flutes had been returned to the stream bed. The sacred significance of many of the instruments may account for their elaborate designs.

000 Very little is known of the origin of Indian, as of all music. Perhaps it first evolved during religious ceremonies, through the waving of a stick in the air or its being beaten on the floor; or perhaps through the rustle of marsh reeds held in the hand and shaken as Severiano did during the ceremony of Canta Haí. This may have been the first sound to suggest the use of nutshells and seed-rattles.

773 When we were living with the Casacará-Motilon Alec Clark told us that
171 the Indians put the mark of a stag's antlers on their foreheads to bring them
825 luck. He also gave us his interpretations of the legend of the puma and the deer, from whom the clan was descended. In the Amazon the shaman is said
[777] to be able to disappear at will and travel through the forest in the guise of a puma, because this animal was the most dreaded of all. Both these animals

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occur constantly in the myth and legend of the tribes, as does the Motilon legend of the twins. It is a legend known from Mexico to the tribes living in Tierra del Fuego, which suggests a considerable antiquity.

Just as the puma is usually the symbol of fear, so the deer is credited by the Indian with fairy-like, almost feminine, qualities, perhaps because of its shyness and speed. It has been suggested that the deer is the symbol of new life, having been regarded as such by early migrations of hunting folk moving south along the chain of the Andes from North America. It was thus associated with first menstruation and all the accompanying rites when a girl reaches puberty and is able to create new life, and its hooves were used by women as ornaments or rattles. The deer-bone flute may have been the first musical instrument used by the Indians.

Several tribes have no musical instruments at all. Possibly these were the first people to reach South America. Later migrations may have brought instruments with them, possibly others evolved on the spot. The similarity of some Kogi and Motilon instruments to those used in Central America suggests a more recent influence.

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At first we found it difficult to distinguish the sounds of the different instruments if we could not see them. But after a while we learnt to recognize not only the instrument but also the many different tunes of each tribe. A Noanamá girl would sing to herself for hours on end. The Motilon had a vast repertoire of walking, war and harvest songs. Instrumental tunes were fewer and some, as in the case of the haunting call of the snail shell, tended to be very repetitive. The Tukano, however, had innumerable panpipe tunes.

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Indian music we at first found strange because we were accustomed to the European tone system. They have no conception of note vibrations to obtain an octave. Yet they can tell whether one instrument is in tune or not with another. A panpipe can be cut to a certain length to produce a particular sound, but it is difficult to produce the exact note, so they may raise the pitch by adding sand, or putting water or even *chicha* inside.

The panpipe tunes in the Tukano festival were the nearest thing we heard to orchestral music; each group played antiphonally, with sometimes two or three groups playing different tunes. We could not however make out whether combination or competition was the motive behind this weird performance.

The Tukano had no conception of counterpoint, though their playing was often harmonious. We did find it in the singing of the Noanamá – perhaps the result of mission teaching. One Tukano chant is almost identical to a western Irish folk lament.

In contrast to African negro music in which stringed instruments and drums predominate, Indian music is mainly that of the rattle and the flute. Every type of construction is found, from humming top and conch shell to

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533 534 171 panpipes and the whistling jars of the Andes. Since the time of the Conquest European music and more particularly African music has had an increasing influence on the conservative Indian. The Noanamá and the highlanders showed signs of this influence, though the Tukano were still free of it. In some cases the instrument had been adopted and was played in the Indian idiom. The Noanamá had a type of drum probably copied from their negro neighbours, but they still played their own halting rhythms. The Motilon had a musical bow, but its use was entirely Indian in conception.

In the Sierra Nevada we found a direct clash of musical idioms, in the *chicote* and *gaita* played by the Indian-creole inhabitants. Perhaps in this are the seeds of a new music combining the atonal, remote and sad Indian music with the gay, sophisticated, ebullient harmonies of the negro-creole. Perhaps the folk music of Colombia as a whole, from the Spanish mountain songs to the negro rhythms of the coast, is a manifestation of a Euro-Afro-Indian music evolving like the arts and the people themselves into a new wholly South American dimension.

171 609 Such are the idle thoughts of travellers written in retrospect. But of all our memories – Kogi temples, Noanamá children paddling to their stilted houses in a Pacific sunset, a Tukano *maloca* at dawn with the steam rising off the night-wetted thatch – the one that will remain longest will be that of the Indian himself, whether a Kogi regarding us with the scorn of a man who knows himself to be a superior being, or a Tukano who never looks *at* you, rather into you with a strange trustful-untrusting eye, as if to try and penetrate your innermost thoughts.

000 Walk with him long enough in the forest and you too will learn to see the track of a tapir; to tell if it was running by the depth of the spoor; to tell if it was wounded by the clot of blood beside the path; even to tell the time when it passed, by the dryness of an upturned leaf, the only one on a shower-soaked forest floor. Perhaps if you could speak his language he would teach you how to walk through the forest for days and never lose your way, to use a bow and arrow, to kill a parrot with one dart from your blowpipe. You might even come to accept the forest for what it is. You would become part of it and it would be the only world you knew....

If you ever reached that stage, then you would be like an Indian. Then you would understand the shock of civilization. It would be like going for a very long holiday in a remote countryside, perhaps the Outer Hebrides, never seeing another soul, and then returning to the heart of a city. Only it would be a hundred times worse.

You would take cocaine because to you it would be perfectly natural. Your father took it and his father before him. You were told as a child that you could not live without it when in the late summer, at the end of the dry season, you had to travel great distances to find deer at the water holes.

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576 The repeating is first of all a respectful recognition of the Spanish-speaking non-Indians, but there also seems at times to be an additional quality of defensiveness connected with the practice. The repeating seems to serve as a stalling device so that the Indians can evaluate something of the intentions of the non-Indians, as indicated by their demands, their mood, and their degree of tolerance of Indian habits (for example, whether they permit beer, or admonish women—and men—for going without upper garments). Most non-Indians issue orders and interrogate loudly, according to the Latin American stereotype of the way to speak to Indians, rather than "converse" with them. The Indians, for various reasons, want to be sure that they have heard every question and order correctly. Consequently, repeating serves as a double-checking device, for corrections in translation are supplied unhesitatingly and immediately by other listeners following the translator. In sum, then, repeating is a formal conversational device indicating respect that also has an adaptive defensive function.

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193 Inasmuch as the Eastern Tukanoan languages share the same general syntax, the Indians' ability to recognize and cope with the different syntactic system of Spanish suggests that other Indian languages and language families in the Northwest Amazon may have different syntactic structures, too.

191 Certain formulaic communication styles—regardless of Indian language family—are probably the same throughout the area, particularly greetings on entering a new longhouse in traveling. I have witnessed and participated in many such situations where the longhouse language was unknown either to me or to some of my Indian traveling companions, and always the content of the initial sequence of bilingual statements was clear to all (namely, the assertion that one has arrived; from which direction—upriver or downriver—one has come, and from what named spot; how many days one has been traveling; and who one's father and mother and brothers and sisters are, and how they are faring). There are other occasional formulaic conventions, especially those involving repeating, that can help a novice gain familiarity with a language. Many languages also seem to share interjections. (In these respects the central Northwest Amazon area may constitute what J. Neustupny has termed a *Sprechbunde* [speech

[P. 677-A]